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Caonwaller Corden

THE HISTORY

OF THE

DEPENDING ON THE PROVINCE OF

NEW-YORK.

BY

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

Reprinted exactly from Bradford's New York edition, (1727.)

BY

JOHN GILMARY SHEA.

NEW YORK:

1866.

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One hundred and twenty-five copies Octavo.

Thirty copies Imperial Octavo.

No.

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INTRODUCTION.

IT reflects little credit on New York that none of her sons have endeavored to present to the million readers of the State the life of Cadwallader Colden, a man whose scientific and philosophical mind, insuring him fame in any field of life that he might have selected, was devoted for nearly half a century to the development, interests and government of the colony of New York. But his labors are almost forgotten, his learned works accessible to few, his manuscripts, though safe in the New York Historical Society, accessible to still fewer, and except to antiquaries and collectors, his very existence almost a myth. No public monument, no college or seminary of learning, recalls the memory of one who in electricity and other branches of natural philosophy was the valued associate of Franklin, who corresponded with Linnæus, Gronovius and Bartram on Botany, with eminent physicians in both hemispheres on the science of medicine, with the
Earl

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Linnæus
Colden
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Earl of Macclesfield on Astronomy and Philosophy, whose reports to government stand out amid the mass of tedious official documents by the freshness, vigor and originality of their views, no less than by their scientific value as treatises.

Cadwallader Colden was the son of the Rev. Alexander Colden, minister of Dunfrie,* in Scotland, but was born on the 17th February, 1688, in Ireland, where his mother was temporarily on a visit. Designed by his father for his own profession, young Colden was sent to the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated in 1705; but feeling little inclination for the pulpit, he proceeded to London and began the study of medicine, yet without discontinuing the mathematical and scientific studies which had become so attractive to him. In 1710, allured by the flattering accounts of William Penn's colony in America, where mild laws, a benevolent system of polity and a fertile soil seemed to the young adventurer almost to promise a revival of the golden age, he came over to Pennsylvania, already the residence of a maternal aunt, and there practised physic with great reputation for five years.

He then revisited London, where he formed

* From an elegy by Geo. Robson it would seem that he died Minister at Oxname.

an acquaintance with the leading literary and scientific men of the day, among others with Dr. Halley, who read a paper of Dr. Colden's on Animal Secretion before the Royal Society; but his visit was apparently not devoted exclusively to the pursuits of science, as he at this time married Miss Alice Chrystie, daughter of a worthy Scotch clergyman of Kelfo, and in 1716 embarked for America with her, resolved to make the colonies his permanent home.

He resumed the practice of his profession in Philadelphia, but having had occasion to visit New York, in 1718, he formed the acquaintance of Governor Hunter, a man of literary accomplishments, and one likely to appreciate the young physician. The Governor was, indeed, so impressed with his merit that he urged him to come to New York, offering him, as an inducement, the office of Surveyor-General of the Colony.

Colden naturally accepted such an advantageous offer, and removed to New York. Hunter not only fulfilled his promise, but bestowed on Colden the apparently unsuitable office of Master in Chancery.

The successor of Hunter was Governor Burnet, a son of the celebrated bishop, who adopted his predecessor's views and friends. Dr. Colden was already esteemed a man of weight

weight, a report of his in relation to an Act of the Assembly regarding the partition of lands having decided action in regard to it.* It was consequently no matter of surprise that he was, in 1722, called to a seat in the Council, a body of gentlemen selected by the Crown, and forming the upper legislative house in the Colony. Colonel Schuyler, who had been removed on the recommendation of Governor Hunter, gave place to Dr. Colden. Honor was not the only gift bestowed; a more substantial mark of favor was a grant, in 1720, of two thousand acres of land in what is now the town of Montgomery, Orange County, followed by another of one thousand, which he styled the Manor of Coldenham. This placed him among the great landholders of the Colony.

His name appears in the journals of the Legislative Council from May 30, 1722, to his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor, and during his term of service he was unremitting and zealous in his labors, adhering firmly to the royal governors, and often involved in the dissensions that prevailed among the ruling families, whose petty contentions ended only with the convulsion which swept them into

* His memorial is in the New York Col. Documents, v. 807.

comparative obscurity in the new order of things.

While others fought only to mimic the capital in show and parade, Colden went to work to study the climate, geography, native inhabitants, civil and political interests of the Colony. He was soon regarded as the best informed man on the affairs of the neighboring French colony. By the Indians he was so esteemed that soon after his arrival he was adopted by the Mohawks of Canajoharie. He is spoken of as better versed than any other in the geography of the country, and his writings show that he was an early and careful observer of the climate and its influence on health. It may not be impertinent to add that in 1723 he notices the unhealthiness of the water in New York city, thus calling attention to the necessity of introducing a water less conducive to disease.

He was one of the first to urge the acts passed November 19, 1720, and July, 1722, to prevent New York merchants from supplying Canada with goods for the Indian trade, thus enabling France to control the west and hem in the English colonies. The act was strongly opposed by some New York merchants and the large houses in England concerned in the American trade. But Colden rightly deemed that the greed of a few
unpatriotic

unpatriotic individuals should not outweigh the necessity of securing to the English colonies a direct trade with the West.

To correct errors on the point he drew up several valuable papers—among them, an account of the Trade of New York* and an account of the Climate of New York,† both of which Governor Burnet transmitted to England. There the obnoxious acts had led the London merchants, instigated by their New York associates, to address a petition to the king, full of the most egregious errors and falsehoods.‡ The King in Council referred it to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, who advised that no directions should be sent to New York till the Governor had seen the petition and sent his reply.

When Governor Burnet received the strange petition he laid it before his Council, who appointed a committee to prepare an answer. The report of the committee, ascribed by Smith and others to Dr. Colden and Mr. Alexander, was a complete answer.§ It con-

* Published in New York Colonial Documents, v. 685.

† *Ib.* 690. American Medical and Philosophical Register, vol. i.

‡ Smith's History of New York. London, 1757, p. 156.

§ Smith gives it in full in his History.

cluded with a recommendation that the petition and the committee's answer be printed. This was done, and the documents were issued in 1724, accompanied with "A Memorial concerning the Furr Trade of the Province of New York," written by Dr. Colden.

Of this pamphlet, a folio printed by Bradford in 1724, I know only one copy, in the possession of Hon. Henry C. Murphy.

"Papers || relating || to an Act of the Assembly || of the Province of New York. || For encouragement of the Indian Trade, &c., and || for prohibiting the selling of Indian goods to the French, || viz.: of Canada."

It is accompanied by the map which is referred to in an advertisement in the work now given.*

These papers were, as we shall see, subsequently reprinted in England. They justified the enlarged views of the Governor of New York, and of his able councillor, who saw the importance of securing the country south of the lakes to England, yet they beheld these statesmanlike views thwarted by men whom present gain blinded to great national interests. The laws were maintained till 1730, when, by some chicanery

* Page xvii, *verso*.

not clearly known to them, they were repealed in England.*

To lay more completely before the public the importance of the Five Nations or Iroquois to the Colony of New York, as a barrier against the French and a means of controlling the West, Colden drew up his remarkable History of the Five Nations. Such a work was necessary when London merchants could assert to the King that the Five Nations lay so far from New York that French Indians lay between: and when they boldly declared before the Board of Trade that the Five Nations "were two or three hundred leagues distant from Albany, and that they could not come to trade with the English but by going down the River St. Lawrence, and from thence through a lake, which brought them within eighteen leagues of Albany."

This was before the days when a British Minister discovered that Cape Breton was an island, and a short historical sketch of the Iroquois or Five Nations and their relations with the French of Canada on the one hand, and New York on the other, was needed to teach King and Council, Lords of Trade and other ruling powers, that the Mohawks lived

* Journal of the Legislative Council, 591.

on the Mohawk, within a day's journey of Albany, as well as to enlighten them on the real position, influence and power of that confederacy.

Years after Colden alluded to the ignorance of British statesmen, contrasting it with the extensive information possessed and constantly increased by the French.

Doctor Colden drew up his work under these circumstances, with little opportunity for research, relying in the main on the papers of the Indian Commissioners and the French works of de la Potherie and La Hontan. It was printed by William Bradford, in 1727, and an exact reprint is here given, following all the typographical peculiarities and ornaments of the New York first printer, in order to give collectors an opportunity of having a fac-simile of the first local New York History written and printed in New York.

The first announcement of it is not without interest here, and I am indebted for it to George H. Moore, Esq., Librarian of the New York Historical Society, whose kindness has greatly facilitated an examination of the Colden papers, for which I am indebted to the Society.

The New York Gazette, No. 69, February 20th to February 27th, 1727, has:

“ADVERTISEMENT.

“ADVERTISEMENT.

“There is now in the Press, and will shortly be Published, *The History of the Five Indian Nations depending on the Province of New York*, giving an Account of their Wars both with the *Indians* and *Christians*, from the First Settling of *Canada* and New-York, as also of their Treaties of Peace with the several Governments in *North America*.

“There is also a MAP of the great Lakes, Rivers and Indian Countries, shewing the Scituation of the several *Indian Nations*, from *Canada* to the branches of the *Mississippi* and the Upper Lake. Both Printed and Sold by *William Bradford* in New-York.”

In No. 70 of the same paper, February 27th to March 6th, 1727, it is advertised:

“Will shortly be published—*The History of the Five Indian Nations depending on the Province of New York*. Printed and Sold by *William Bradford*, in *New York*.”

In No. 71, March 6 to March 13, 1727:

“Just Published,” etc., etc.

The work was reprinted in England in 1747 and 1750; and had these transatlantic editions reproduced that of Bradford, there would be little necessity for now presenting so exact a reprint: but in fact the alterations and omissions are so numerous, that students to whom these English editions are familiar have really no idea of what the work was as originally written by Colden; and the early New York edition, although cited in the last edition

edition of Lowndes as worth 1s. 6d., is really so scarce that a few years since not a copy was known to be in existence, and the Hon. Henry C. Murphy having succeeded in obtaining one, long enjoyed the reputation of possessing a unique copy. Mr. George Brinley, of Hartford, Mr. T. H. Morrell, and quite recently Mr. William Menzies, noblest collector of Bradford imprints, who first began to gather the neglected issues of the Caxton of the Middle Colonies, have succeeded in obtaining copies. Others may appear, but they will be prizes, beyond the reach of ordinary students or even ordinary collectors.

It is unnecessary to give here a collation of this edition, as the reader has it before him.

The work at once attracted attention in England, and, according to Watts, in his *Bibliotheca Britannica*, was reprinted in London in 1730; but this edition, if it really existed, seems to have escaped recent bibliographers.

The New York edition of 1727 consisted of five hundred copies, which were soon taken up, and, in 1743, Colden wrote to a friend in London that "not one copy now for several years past can anywhere be obtained."

This friend, Mr. Peter Collinson, took a warm interest in the work, and frequently urged Dr. Colden to continue it. To these requests

requests the author at last yielded, and prepared a second part, bringing the history down to the Peace of Ryswick. The manuscript of the preface to this part, now preserved in the New York Historical Society, bears date March, 1742. He at the same time re-wrote the Introduction, and transmitted the manuscript by two occasions to Mr. Collinson.

In a letter dated April 9, 1742, he says: "I now send you the greatest part of the Indian History continued to the Peace of Ryswick, which I presume to put under your tutelage because I may truly say, that it is owing to you that it ever had a birth, by your giving me your approbation of the First Part, and desiring it to be continued as a Work which you thought may be usefull, for I had several years laid aside all thoughts of it." Similar expressions occur in a letter written the next year.

Mr. Colden supposed that the difficulties with France would be settled by negotiation, as is evident by the concluding words of the Preface, which were printed as he wrote them when no longer applicable.

This Preface after reciting the struggle which led to the publication of the first Part, and the prosperous trade which resulted from Governor Burnet's policy, adds:

"This

“ This History from New York soon went to England, and I have been informed, that a Publication, with a Continuance of that Work, would be acceptable. I have the more cheerfully complied with this Notice, because of the War, threatened from France, believing that a publication of this Kind may be useful, whether the present Inquietudes between the two Nations end in a War or a Treaty. The French have encouraged several Publications of this sort at Paris, and certainly such may be more useful in a British Government, where the People have so great a share in it, than it can be in a French Government, intirely directed by the Will of their Prince.

“ I now continue this History to the Peace of Reswick, and if I find this acceptable, and that a farther Continuation of it be desired, I shall, if my Life and Health be preserved, carry it down farther; but as I have too much reason to doubt my own Ability to give that Pleasure and Satisfaction which the Publick may expect in things thus submitted to their View, I think its not justifiable to trouble them with too much at once.”

While Mr. Collinson had the matter in hand in 1743, Colden wrote: “ If that book could in any measure draw the attention of the Ministry or of the Parliament to regard
the

the Interest of North America in respect to the Fur Trade, and the Incroachments which the French are daily making on our Trade and Settlements, I should hope I have been of some use to my Country. For this purpose you may, perhaps, think it not amiss to add by way of Appendix what I formerly wrote of the natural advantages which the Province of New York have in carrying on the Fur Trade beyond what the French of Canada have, and which was sent to you by Mr. Alexander with some other printed papers."

Mr. Collinson does not seem at this time to have found a publisher. It was at first proposed to print it with Middleton's Voyage to Hudson's Bay, but the project of issuing that work fell through.

The war which broke out in 1744 seems for a time to have stopped all further movement in regard to it, but in 1747 Collinson offered it to Thomas Osborne, who undertook to get out an edition.

The following is the title and description of Osborne's edition as it appeared in 1747:

"The || History || of the || Five Indian Nations || of || Canada, || Which are dependent || On the Province of New-York in America, || And || Are the Barrier between the English and French || in that Part of the World. ||
With

With || Accounts of their Religion, Man-
ners, Customs, Laws, and Forms of || Govern-
ment; their several Battles and Treaties with
the European Na- || tions; particular Relations
of their several Wars with the other Indians; ||
and a true Account of the present State of
our Trade with them. || In which are shewn ||
The great Advantage of their Trade and Al-
liance to the British Nation, || and the In-
trigues and Attempts of the French to en-
gage them from us; || a Subject nearly con-
cerning all our American Plantations, and
highly meriting the Consideration of the
British Nation at this Juncture. || By the
Honourable Cadwallader Colden, Esq; || One
of his Majesty's Counsel, and Surveyor-Gen-
eral of New-York. || To which are added, ||
Accounts of the several other Nations of
Indians in North-America, their || Numbers,
Strength &c. and the Treaties which have
been lately || made with them. A Work
highly entertaining to all, and particular || ly
useful to the Persons who have any Trade or
Concern in that Part of the World. || Lon-
don. || Printed for T. Osborne, in Gray's-
Inn. MDCCXLVII. Verso blank.

Dedication "To the Honourable || Gen-
eral || Oglethorpe" || pp. iii-ix. Verso blank.

The || Preface || to the || First Part || xi-xiv.

A Vocabulary &c. xv, xvi.

The

The Contents, 4 pp., without folios.

The Introduction, 1-19. Verso blank.

The || History || of the || Five Indian Nations || depending || on the Province of New-York.

Part I. 21-90.

Part II. Bastard title. Verso blank.

The Preface to the Second Part, 2 pp. (III),

IV.

Part II. 91-204.

Papers || Relating to || An Act of the Assembly || of the || Province of New York, || for || the Encouragement of the Indian Trade &c. and || for prohibiting the selling of Indian Goods || to the French, viz. of Canada. || I VI Verso blank. Pp. (1)-44. This is a reprint of the Bradford pamphlet of 1724, with an additional letter.

The || Treaty || Held with the || Indians || of the || Six Nations || at || Philadelphia, || in July 1742. Verso blank. Pp. (45)-86.

A || Treaty, || Held at the Town of || Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, || By the Honourable the || Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, || and the Honourable the || Commissioners for the Provinces || of Virginia and Maryland, || with the || Indians || of the || Six Nations || in June 1744. Verso blank (87)-152.

A || Treaty || Between || His Excellency || The Honourable George Clinton, || Captain General

General and Governor in Chief of the || Province of New York, and the Territories || thereon depending in America, Vice- || Admiral of the same, and Vice-Admiral of || the Red Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet. || And || The Six United Indian Nations, depending on the Province of New York. || Held at Albany, in the months of August and || September 1746. Verso blank (153)—196.

A || Collection || of || Charters || and other Public Acts || relating to the || Province of Pennsylvania, || viz. || I. The Royal Charter to William || Penn, Esq. || II. The first Frame of Government, granted in || England in 1682. || III. Laws agreed upon in England. || IV. Certain Conditions or Concessions. || V. The Act of Settlement made at Chester, 1682. || VI. The second Frame of Government, granted 1683. || VII. The Charter of the City of Phila || delphia, granted October 25, 1701. || VIII. The new Charter of Privileges || to the Province, granted October 28, 1701. Verso blank. Text (197)—283. Verso advertisements. Sigs. (A)—O and B—T.

The third edition, London, 1755, has nearly the same title:

The || History || of the || Five Indian Nations || of || Canada, || which are dependent || On the Province of New York, in America, || and || Are the Barrier between the English and
French

French || in that part of the World || With || Particular Accounts of their Religion, Manners, Customs, Laws, and || Forms of Government; their Several Battles and Treaties with || the European Nations; their Wars with the other Indians; and || a true Account of the present State of our Trade with them. || In which are shewn, || The great Advantage of their Trade and Alliance to the British || Nation, and the Intrigues and Attempts of the French to engage || them from us; a Subject nearly concerning all our American || Plantations, and highly meriting the Attention of the British || Nation at this Juncture. || *By the Honourable CADWALLADER COLDEN, ESQ; One of his Majesty's Counsel, and Surveyor-General || of NEW-YORK.* || To which are added, Accounts of the several other Nations of *Indians in North-America*, their Numbers, Strength, &c. and the Treaties which have been || lately made with them. || IN TWO VOLUMES || THE THIRD EDITION || LONDON: || Printed for LOCKYER DAVIS, at *Lord Bacon's Head*, in *Fleet-street*; J. Wren, in *Salisbury-court*; and J. WARD in *Cornhill*, opposite the *Royal Exchange.* || MDCCLV.

Title. Verso blank.

iii-viii. Dedication "To the Honourable General Oglethorpe."

ix-xii. The Preface to the First Part.

The

The Contents, 4 pp., without folios.—Map.
(1)–(20). The Introduction.

21–93. The History.

94–96. Part II. The Preface.

97–213. The History &c.

214. Title, “Papers relating,” &c.

215–258. Text.

259–260. A Vocabulary.

Sigs. A²—M.

Volume II.

Title. Verso blank.

Contents. Verso blank.

1–44. The Treaty, &c.

45. A treaty held at the town, &c. Verso
blank.

46–116. Text.

117. Title. “A Treaty between his Excel-
lency the Honourable George Clin-
ton.”

118–161. Text. 162. Blank.

163. Title. “A Collection of Charters,”
&c.

164–251. Text.

Sigs. B—M.

This edition is so absolute a reprint of
that of 1747 that what is said of one will ap-
ply to the other; the division of the contents
in the two volume edition being apparently
the only change.

This catalogue of the various contents of
the

the volume shows that the edition of 1747 contains much more than the New York edition. Besides the new Introduction, written by Colden, and his second Part, with its preface, which he transmitted to Collinson, it contains also the pamphlet suggested by Colden. The treaties with the Five Nations which follow may have been sent by Colden, as Collinson in one of his letters notes the arrival of a treaty just in season to print. But the series of papers relating to Pennsylvania were certainly never suggested by the author. Franklin on receiving a copy denounced it in a letter to Colden. He mentions this conduct of Osborne, "which," says he, "I think was not fair, but 'tis a common trick of booksellers." (Letter to Colden, October, 1747.)

If we proceed now to examine the volume in detail we are met by a series of changes, abridgments and extensions that require explanation.

The long title, with its geographical blunder, putting the Five Nations in Canada, is of course not Colden's. He certainly would not so have yielded to French claims as to bring the Canada border so near Albany. A letter of Collinson's in the Colden papers says, that Dr. Mitchell, a friend of Dr. Colden's, "assisted in drawing up the title page."

page." The author himself, in a letter to Collinson, suggested altering the title page so as to read: "Wherein is shown how advantageous the Friendship of these Nations is to the Settlement and Trade of the Brittish subjects all over North America, and what pains the French have taken to withdraw their affection from the English. A matter which may deserve attention at a Time when a Treaty of Peace and Commerce may be expected between Great Brittain and France." He adds: "This I propose for the benefit of the Printer, for otherwise I dislike promising Title pages."

Colden's dedication to Governor Burnet was merited and happy, but it is utterly impossible to suppose that he would address to General Oglethorpe, interested solely in the most remote of the British colonies on the coast, the same language, with trifling changes. What sense is there in the member of the Council of New York complimenting Oglethorpe on his applying his thoughts to Indian affairs, and telling him "not only the present generation will enjoy the benefit of your care, but our latest Posterity bless your Memory for that Happiness the Foundation of which was laid under your Care &c."? The few changes of "your Excellency" to "your Judgment," "Excellency's Administration" to "endeavourors,"

ors," "the Governor of New York" to "every Governor in America," "your own" to "one," do not prevent the absurdity of the whole Dedication as addressed to Oglethorpe.

The real Dedication ends with expressions of gratitude, which are omitted.

As to this new dedication, the Colden papers give further revelations. "The dedication," says Collinson, in a letter of August 3d, 1747, "was made without my leave or consent, which makes me uneasy. I was out of Town and Mr. Osbourn was in haste to publish, and so it happened, or else the person I should have chosen would have been Lord Londale." Colden himself seems to have proposed no change in this part, and anticipated none. The changes in the title and dedication are therefore certainly not by Colden. There are also alterations in the Preface, Introduction and first Part, of which some note is here given. A manuscript book in a substantial pigskin cover, preserved in the New York Historical Library, contains the second Part from about the middle of the fourth chapter to the end, together with the Preface to the Second Part and the revised Introduction. These papers coincide with those in the edition of 1747; but there is no reference to alterations in the Preface

or

or work itself, nor do any of the letters preserved allude to any such modifications.

We must therefore judge them by their intrinsic merit, and by this criterion we can only decide that they cannot be attributed to Colden.

Dr. Colden extended the Introduction, but, as will be seen by the few annexed notices of alterations, elsewhere the work was retrenched. This would not be naturally the course of the author, and on examination these retrenchments are chiefly of Indian names, speeches and the like. Dr. Colden would not exclude names, which gave his history accuracy, exactness and point, nor omit the speeches to which he refers so distinctly in his preface; but we can well imagine that the London publisher, beginning with a view to economize, would propose to reduce speeches, in which he could see no remarkable beauty, or omit names which he could not pronounce.

The following are some of the changes made:

In the Preface, p. vii, the words "and my endeavoring" to the close of the first paragraph are omitted.

"And this collection" down to "will be," omitted and altered.

The

The first sentence in the third paragraph altered.

P. viii. "I must confess" to "designedly," omitted.

ix. "For the Indians," altered and not improved.

"The History of Indians," altered.

x. "Various" changed to "curious."

"this first Attempt of the Kind in this Country, with more than usually favorable allowances," altered to "this first Attempt of this Kind, with more than usual allowances."

"The first part" to the end, with the signature, omitted.

xi. "By the Dutch living in the Province of New York," omitted.

xii. "But the French," &c., omitted. The remark is, however, valuable as showing how, while the French had begun to confound Wyandot and Teonontate, the distinction between the two was observed at New York.

In the Indian name for Lake Huron the word Quatoghe is omitted after Car matare, making it nonsense.

"The Island," &c., note after New York omitted.

"Nadouessiaux—Naduissleks," omitted.

"Onnontio

"Onnontio—Yonnondio," &c., omitted.

"The Dutch of this place," &c.
Note on Albany omitted.

xiii. "Under this," &c., omitted.

Wagunhas altered to "Dewagunhas,"
and rest of note omitted.

The note at the foot of the vocabulary on the dialects and French and English notation, omitted.

xiv. Verbal alterations in first paragraph.

xv. "But it is probable" to "theirs," omitted. It is important as showing early English knowledge of the mode in which the League grew up.

After "Sachems," the words "or old men," are incorrectly introduced.

After "Republick, by itself," several words are introduced.

xvi. "If they should once," omitted, and the two following paragraphs transferred so as to follow the citation from De la Potherie, and a statement inserted as to the Creeks.

"As I am fond"—whole paragraph omitted, and new matter introduced, extending to several pages.

i. The opening paragraph is altered, the opening being changed, the Indian name of the League omitted: "the Dutch settled

settled New York," altered to "possessed themselves of New Netherlands, now called New York."

- 3, 4, 5. These pages are almost entirely omitted, and the brief statement less accurate than the original.
6. "Retired to the south of Cadarackui Lake," altered to "fly to the Banks of the Lakes." New matter is introduced into the London edition.
7. The account of Champlain's battle on Lake Champlain is altered, much abridged, and errors introduced. The original has, "Mr. Champlain made his men keep their Canoes at some distance," &c., showing that he and his allies remained on the lake, which agrees with Champlain, while the London edition says incorrectly "both sides went ashore."
10. The sentence beginning "It has been," entirely omitted.
11. Indian words are omitted as Saffakue, p. 11, or misspelt as Wabmache, given as Wabmake; Yonnondio, as Yonnendio; Utawawas, as Atawawas; Saguenay, as Saquenay; to cite the errors that catch the eye on one single page (29) of the London edition. On the next page, Illinois becomes Hinois; p. 27, Mahikanders

kanders becomes Mahikindars; p. 31, Sufquehanna becomes Sufguehana; p. 57, Odianne, Cadianne.

- 24. "This Expedition." This whole paragraph is entirely altered.
- 28. The sentence beginning "In the year 1667" is in part omitted, and the whole matter concerning La Salle on pages 28, 29 is omitted.
- 31. After the word "Calamity," nearly half a page is introduced in the English edition.
- 32-35. The speech of Swerisse is omitted and a brief abstract only given.
- 36-37. Speech omitted and substance only given.
- 40. The important clause "Corlaer's Limits," omitted, and several others.
- 41. The names of Jehonongera and Kanohguage omitted.
- 43-47. Speeches given only in abstract.
- 58. "Let the river be secure," &c., omitted. Affarigoa is substituted for My Lord, throughout.

These few references will convince the reader that the original edition of Colden has no little value, and in the grave doubt that must exist as to the extent in which Dr. Colden contributed to the alterations which appear in the London edition must rank as vastly superior to it.

For

For many of the alterations and omissions there seems no solid reason; the omission of the speeches is inconsistent with the preface, in which the author at some length defends their insertion, and we can hardly conceive it possible that he retained the apology when he had made it unnecessary.

That he should have reprinted it at the time without enlarging it from the accessible matter afforded by the publication of Charlevoix' History of New France, in 1744, and the curious work of Lafiteau, so full of matter relating to the Five Nations, is indeed surprising, as he must have been aware of the labors of Mr. Smith, and the certainty that he would use these sources.

Osborne wrote, June 12, 1747, to Dr. Colden: "If you have any thoughts of making any further Edition (addition) to the Five Nations, I should be glad to have it as soon as possible. . . . but should be glad if you would bring it as low as possible and add some of your neighboring Nations to it. General Oglethorpe has promised to give me great help for the other Indian Nations, and he was so kind as to overlook your manuscript, and approved it very much."

Colden, however, apparently never made any attempt to continue the History. He probably wrote expressing his thanks to
General

General Oglethorpe, for Osborne, June 6, 1748, says:

"I will take care to pay your compliments to General Oglethorpe," a sort of proof that Colden was unaware of it till he received the General's thanks.*

Having thus given the history of the work, and its editions, as far as known, we resume our brief sketch of the author.

After the close of Mr. Burnet's administration, Dr. Colden removed to Coldenham, and there devoted all the leisure he could command from his official duties to his favorite studies, and to a correspondence with learned men in Europe and America. Among the results of his correspondence was the establishment of the American Philosophical Society, first suggested by him. He studied the botany of his estate, and finding a good bed of turf suitable for fuel, made probably the first New York canal to bring it to a convenient place of deposit, although the work may have had some more important but now forgotten object.

In 1732 he drew up an important document—"The State of the Lands in the Prov-

* Osborne gives an insight into the pecuniary matters of the edition, stating that it cost him £120, and that he had sold only 300 copies, had 200 on sale, and 500 on hand.

ince of New York,* and in 1738 made, in form of a reply to certain queries of the Board of Trade, another communication on the Province and its Boundaries.†

During the administration of Gov. Cosby he was not in favor, and took little part in public affairs. Although in Smith's History of New York his name appears among the Councillors who ordered the proceedings against Zenger, the official Journal omits his name‡ for the year following October 1734.

In the summer of 1740 he was appointed one of the Commissioners for "marking out and settling the Boundaries between the Province of the Massachusetts Bay and the Colony of Rhode Island Eastward,"§ for which his geographical and scientific attainments so well fitted him. In this and a similar Commission he presided with success.||

His retirement from political struggles was not spent in idleness. Never losing sight of his profession, he contributed valuable papers on the diseases of the colony. He was one of the first to suggest the cooling regi-

* Published in O'Callaghan's Documentary History, i, 247.

† Printed in the Colonial Documents, vi, 121.

‡ Journal of the Legislative Council, 642.

§ Col. Doc. vi, 167.

|| Ib. 469.

men in the treatment of fevers. He published a tract on the cure of cancers, another on the medical properties of the Bortanice, or Great Water Dock, and opposed the prevalent method of treating small-pox.

In 1741 and the following year, New York city was desolated by a malignant fever, resembling the yellow fever, which at a later day committed such fearful ravages. Dr. Colden communicated to the Common Council his views on the causes of the disease, which he considered local, and suggested efficient means of guarding against it. A vote of thanks attested the appreciation set by the city on his valuable recommendations.*

In 1742, as we have seen, he wrote the second part of his *History of the Five Nations*.

The *Acta Upsalensia*, for 1743, contains his "*Plantæ Coldinghamiæ in Prov. Nov. Eboracensi spontanæ crescentes, quas ad methodum Linnæi sexulem observavit Cadwalader Colden*," the great Botanic Contribution of Colonial New York, addressed to Linnæus, and redeeming us from total inattention to that science in which Pennsylvania and Canada had won honors.

* His treatise is in the *American Medical and Philosophical Register*.

But

But the work to which he devoted the greatest labor, and many years of his life, was "An Explication of the First Causes of Action in Matter, and of the Cause of Gravitation." New York, 1745; London, 1746, 8vo, 75 pp.*

"In this work," says Mr. Verplanck, "far from aiming, as has been supposed, at the overthrow of the Newtonian system, he proceeds the very same path with the father of the mathematical philosophy, and endeavors merely to advance a few steps beyond the conclusions where Newton had paused. Newton had himself expressly denied that he thought gravity a power innate, inherent and essential to matter; and in a letter to Dr. Bently, had said that gravity must be caused by an agent acting constantly according to certain laws." This agent, and its mode of action, it is the object of Colden's essay to point out, and he brings arguments to show that light is that great moving power.

His treatise was enlarged and published at London, in 1751, under the title of "The Principles of Action on Matter," to which he added, "An Introduction to the Doctrine of Fluxions." This work was so rapidly

* The London edition was got out from an early copy, before the package sent by Dr. Colden arrived.

taken up that in 1788 Buffon, having lost his copy and failing to replace it, applied to Mr. Jefferson, who wrote to Francis Hopkinson for the tract.

Mr. Colden also wrote about this time an Inquiry into the Principles of Vital Motion.

When Mr. Clinton became Governor Dr. Colden was again recalled to more active public life. The old parties had well-nigh exhausted their strength; many of the former leaders had withdrawn; the most prominent man of the day, Chief Justice de Lancey, was connected by marriage with Dr. Colden, and all seemed to promise a state of harmony suited to his tastes. But a rupture soon occurred between the Chief Justice and the Governor, and Dr. Colden enjoyed the confidence of Mr Clinton to such a degree that in 1746, and the following years, he was urgently recommended for the post of Lieutenant-Governor, first as a deserved honor, and subsequently as a defense against his political enemies, headed by de Lancey.*

In the summer of 1746 the Governor, in consequence of instructions from the home government, proceeded to Albany to meet the Five Nations, and invited his Council to attend him, but all declined to give their

* N. Y. Colonial Documents, vi, 313, 377, 417.
attendance

attendance except Mr. Colden and Mr. Livingston. At Albany the Governor fell sick, and Colden met the Indian Deputies, and described himself as the next person to the Governor in the Administration. This gave offense, and when he printed the treaty with prefatory remarks, stating the fact that the Councillors had all declined to go except himself and Mr. Livingston, the Council took the matter up, and by resolution declared it an invidious reflection,* and some members made a representation to the Governor.

I have not met a copy of the original edition of this Treaty, but the pamphlet is included in the London edition of the Five Nations, of which we have given full titles.†

The action of the Council drew from Dr. Colden a labored defense of his whole course.‡

Disgusted with the petty jealousies of the men around him, he retired to Coldenham, and returned to New York only on the urgent solicitation of the Governor. Here he was brought into fresh difficulty, his advice to Mr. Clinton drawing on him the censure

* Journal of the Legislative Council, 958, N. Y. Col. Doc., vi, 330.

† It is given without Colden's preface in the N. Y. Colonial Documents, vi, 317.

‡ Ib. 318-340.

of the Assembly and a violent attack from Chief Justice de Lancey. To this he replied in a letter to the Duke of Bedford, November 22, 1748.*

In the year 1750, at the request of Governor Shirley he drew up the documentary evidence of the right of England to the lands claimed by the French, the contest for which ended in the overthrow of French power in North America.

This was followed, in August of the ensuing year, by an elaborate report on "The present state of Indian Affairs, with the British and French colonies in North America, with some observations thereon for securing the Fidelity of the Indians to the Crown of Great Britain and promoting Trade among them."†

In 1753 he addressed Dr. Fothergill on an Epidemical Sore Throat that had appeared in Massachusetts in 1735. This was published in 1755, and republished in Carey's American Museum.

His more important public career now began. On the death of Lieutenant-Governor de Lancey, in 1760, Dr. Colden, as President of the Council, came to New York, took

* N. Y. Col. Doc., vi, 469.

† *Ib.*, vi, 738.

up his residence at the province house, in the fort, and administered the government. He solicited an appointment as Lieutenant-Governor, and was appointed August, 1761.* He administered the government till November, 1765, except a short period, during which General Monckton, the Governor, was in New York.

The government again devolved on him in 1769, but he was superseded the following year by Lord Dunmore. He was called for the fourth and last time in 1774 to the administration, which he held until the 25th June, 1775.

His administration of the Colony thus in a manner closed the English rule in New York. A zealous and earnest supporter of the British Crown, he met the censure of the public. At the time of the Stamp Act he met the full fury of the populace, and was burned in effigy. His life, protracted to the age of eighty-seven, closed on the 21st of September, 1776, before the great struggle had more than fairly opened, and while men were but just discussing the great act of the Continental Congress.

He died at Spring Hill, near Flushing, on Long Island, and was interred in the pri-

* N. Y. Col. Doc., vii, 461-2. New York Doc. History, 497.

vate cemetery on the place. His wife had preceded him several years, having died at Fort George, in New York, in March, 1762, aged 72. He had several children: 1, his oldest son, Alexander, was Surveyor General of the Colony, and died in 1775; 2, his second, David, died in infancy; 3, Cadwallader D. Colden, a man of note in his day; 4, David; 5, Elizabeth, who married Oliver de Lancey; 6, Jane; 7, Alice; 8, Kate.

"Governor Colden," says Verplanck, "was a scholar of various and extensive attainments, and of a very great and unremitted ardour and application in the acquisition of knowledge. When it is considered how large a portion of his life was spent in the labors or the routine of public office, and that however great might have been his original stock of learning, he had in this country no reading public to excite him by their applause, and few literary friends to assist or to stimulate his inquiries, his zeal and success in his scientific pursuits will appear deserving of the highest admiration. A great mass of manuscripts on mathematical, botanical, metaphysical and theological learning, in addition to the works published during his life, afford ample proof of the extent and variety of his knowledge,
and

and the strength, the acuteness and the versatility of his intellect."

Besides the works already mentioned, and his extensive correspondence with Newton, Gronovius, Linnæus, Franklin, the Earl of Macklesfield and others, he wrote an Introduction to the Study of Philosophy, a Translation of the Letters of Cicero, with an Introduction, an Inquiry into the operation of Intellect among Animals, "On the Essential Properties of Light," "An Introduction to the Study of Physic," "An Inquiry into the causes of producing the phenomenon of metal medley swimming in water," and several papers on a method of stereotyping.







THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Five INDIAN Nations
Depending on the Province
OF
NEW - YORK
In *America.*



Printed and Sold by *William Bradford* in
New-York, 1727.





T O

His E X C E L L E N C Y

VWilliam Burnet, *Efq;*

Captain General and Governor in
 Chief of the Provinces of *New-York*,
New-Jersey, and Territories thereon
 depending, in *America*, and Vice-
 Admiral of the same, &c.'

S I R ;

THe *Indian Affairs* of this Province
 have appear'd to your Excellency
 of such Importance to the Well-
 fare of the People here, that you have
 carefully apply'd your Thoughts to them,
 in which I hope your Excellency will have
 such Success, that not only the present Ge-
 neration shall enjoy the Benefit of your
 Care, but our latest Posterity likewise may
 blefs

II. DEDICATION.

bles your Memory under their Happiness, the Foundation of which may be laid under your Excellency's Administration, if the People here, who's Interest is chiefly concern'd, do on their parts second your Endeavours, as their Duty requires, towards securing the Peace and advancing the Prosperity of their Country.

The following Account of the *Five Nations* will show what Dangerous Neighbours the *Indians* have been, what Pains a Neighbouring Colony² (who's Interest is Opposit to ours) has taken to withdraw their Affections from Us, and how dreadful the Consequences may be, if that Colony should succeed in their Designs: and therefore how much we ought to be on our Guard. If we only consider the Riches which a People, who have been and may again be our Enemies, receive from the *Indian Trade* (tho' we were under no apprehensions from the *Indians* themselves) it may be thought imprudent in Us to suffer such People to grow Rich and Powerful, while it is in our Power to prevent it, with much less Charge and
Trouble

D E D I C A T I O N. III.

Trouble than it is in theirs to accomplish their designs.

These Considerations are sufficient to make the *Indian Affairs* deserve the most serious Thoughts of the Governor of *New-York*. But I know your Excellency's Views are not confin'd to the Interest of your own Country only.

The *Five Nations* are a poor Barbarous People, under the *darkest Ignorance*, and yet a *bright and noble Genius* shines thro' these *black Clouds*. None of the greatest *Roman Hero's* have discovered a greater Love to their Country, or a greater Contempt of Death than these *Barbarians* have done, when *Life and Liberty* came in Competition: Indeed, I think our *Indians* have out-done the *Romans* in this particular; for some of the greatest *Romans* have Murder'd themselves to avoid Shame or Torments, (a) VWhereas our *Indians* have refused to Dye meanly with the least Pain, when they thought their

(a) This will appear by several Instances in the second Part of this History.^a

Country's

IV. DEDICATION.

Country's Honour would be at stake, by it, but gave their Bodies willingly up to the most cruel Torments of their Enemies, to shew, that the *Five Nations* consisted of Men whose Courage and Resolution could not be shaken. They fully, however, these *noble Vertues* by that cruel Passion *Revenge*, which they think not only lawful, but Honourable to exert without Mercy on their Country's Enemies, and for this only they deserve the Name of *Barbarians*.

But what have we *Christians* done to make them better? Alas! we have reason to be ashamed, that these *Infidels*, by our Conversation and Neighbourhood, are become worse than they were before they knew us. Instead of *Vertues* we have only taught them *Vices*, that they were entirely free of before that time. The narrow Views of *private Interest* have occasioned this, and will occasion *greater*, even *Publick Mischiefs*, if the Governors of the People do not, like true Patriots, exert themselves, and put a stop to these growing Evils. If these Practices be
winked

winked at, instead of *faithful Friends* that have Manfully fought our Battles for us, the *Five Nations* will become *faithless Thieves* and *Robbers*, and joyn with every Enemy that can give them the hopes of *Plunder*.

If care were taken to plant in them, and cultivate that general Benevolence to Mankind, which is the true Principle of *Vertue*, it would effectually eradicate those *horrid Vices* occasioned by their *Unbounded Revenge*; and then the *Five Nations* would no longer deserve the name of *Barbarians*, but would become a People whose Friendship might add *Honour* to the *British Nation*, tho' they be now too generally despised.

The *Greeks & Romans*, once as much *Barbarians* as our *Indians* now are, deified the Hero's that first taught them the *Vertues*, from whence the Grandeur of those Renowned Nations wholly proceeded; but a good Man will feel more real Satisfaction and Pleasure from the Sense of having any way forwarded the *Civilizing* of *Barbarous Nations*, or of having *Multiplied* the
Number

VI. DEDICATION.

Number of good Men, than from the fondest hopes of fuch extravagant Honour.

These Considerations, I believe, would make your Excellency think a *good History of the Five Nations* worthy of your Patronage. As to this, I only hope, that you will look on my offering the following Account, however meanly perform'd, to proceed from the Desire I have of making some Publick Profession of that Gratitude, which is so much the Duty of

S I R ,

Your Most Obliged

And Most Obedient

Humble Servant,

Cadwallader Colden.



The P R E F A C E.

THough every one that is in the least acquainted with the Affairs of *North-America*, knows of what Consequence the *Indians*, commonly known to the people of *New-York* by the Name of the *Five Nations*, are both in Peace and War, I know of no Accounts of them Published in *English*, but what are meer Translations of *French* Authors.⁴ This seems to throw some Reflection on the Inhabitants of this Province, as if we wanted Curiosity to enquire into our own Affairs, and that we were willing to rest satisfied with the Accounts the *French* give us of our own *Indians*, notwithstanding that the *French* in *Canada* are always in a different Interest, and sometimes in open Hostility with us. This Consideration, I hope, will justify my attempting to write an History of the *Five Nations* at this time; and my endeavouring to remove that Blame with which we may be charged, perhaps will atone for many Faults which the want of Capacity may have occasioned.

Having had the Perusal of the Minutes of the *Commissioners for Indian Affairs*,⁵ I have been enabled to collect many Materials for this History, which are not to be found any where else: And this Collection will, at least, be useful to any Person of more Capacity, who shall afterwards undertake this Task. When a History of these Nations shall be well wrote, it will be of great use to all the *British Colonies* in *North-America*; for it may enable them to learn Experience at the Expence of others; and if I can contribute anything to so good a Purpose, I shall not think my Labour lost.

It will be necessary to Excuse two things in the following Performance, which, I am afraid, will be found fault with by those that are the best Judges. The *First* is, My

filling

(b)

VIII.

The P R E F A C E.

filling up so great part of the Work with the Adventures of small Parties, and sometimes with those of one single Man. The *Second* is, The inserting so many Speeches at length. I must confess, that I have done both these designedly.

As to the *First*, The History of *Indians* would be very lame without an Account of these Private Adventures; for their War-like Expeditions are almost always carried on by Surprising each other, and their whole Art of War consists in managing small Parties. The whole Country being one continued Forrest, gives great Advantages to these Skulking Parties, and has obliged the *Christians* to imitate the *Indians* in this Method of making War. I believ'd likewise, that some would be curious to know the Manners and Customs of the *Indians*, in their Publick Treaties especially, who could not be satisfied without taking Notice of several minute Circumstances, and some things otherwise of no Consequence. We are fond of searching into Remote Antiquity, to know the Manners of our Earliest *Progenitors*: if I be not mistaken, the *Indians* are living Images of them.⁶

My Design in the *Second* was, That thereby the Genius of the *Indians* might better appear. An Historian may paint Mens Actions in lively Colours, or in faint Shades, as he likes best, and in both cases preserve a perfect Likeness: But it will be a difficult Task to shew the Wit, and Judgment, and Art, and Simplicity, and Ignorance of the several Parties, managing a Treaty, in other Words than their own. As to my part, I thought myself incapable of doing it, without depriving the judicious Observer of the Opportunity of discovering much of the *Indian Genius*, by my Contracting or Paraphrasing their Harrangues, and without committing often gross Mistakes. For, on these Occasions, a skilful Manager often talks Confusedly and Obscurely with design; which if an Historian should endeavour to amend, the Reader would receive the History in a false Light.

The

The Reader will find a great Difference between some of the Speeches made at *Albany*, and those taken from the *French* Authors. The first are genuine, and truly related, as delivered by the Sworn Interpreters, and where Truth only is required; a rough Stile with it, is preferable to Eloquence without it. But I must own, that *I* suspect our Interpreters may not have done Justice to the *Indian Eloquence*. For, the *Indians* having but few words, and few complex Ideas, use many Metaphors in their Discourse, which interpreted by an hesitating Tongue, may appear mean, and strike our Imagination faintly, but under the Pen of a skilful Interpreter may strongly move our Passions by their lively Images. I have heard an old *Indian Sachem* speak with much Vivacity and Elocution, so that the Speaker pleas'd and moved the Auditors with the manner of delivering his Discourse; which, however, as it came from the Interpreter, disappointed us in our Expectations. After the Speaker had employ'd a considerable time in Haranguing with much Elocution, the Interpreter often explained the whole by one single Sentence. I believe the Speaker in that time imbellished and coloured his Figures, that they might have their full force on the Imagination, while the Interpreter contented himself with the Sense, in as few words as it could be express'd.⁷

He that first writes the History of Matters which are not generally known, ought to avoid, as much as possible, to make the Evidence of the Truth depend entirely on his own Veracity and Judgment: For this reason I have often related several Transactions in the Words of the Registers. When this is once done, he that shall write afterwards need not act with so much Caution.

The History of *Indians* well wrote, would give an agreeable Amusement to many, every one might find something therein suited to his own Pallat; but even then, every Line would not please every Man; on the contrary, one will

X. *The P R E F A C E.*

praise what another condemns, and one desires to know what another thinks not worth the Trouble of Reading : And therefore, I think, it is better to run the Risk of being sometimes Tedious, than to omit anything that may be Useful.

I have sometimes thought that the Histories wrote with all the Delicacy of a fine Romance, are like *French Dishes*, more agreeable to the Pallat than the Stomach, and less wholsom than more common and courser Dyet.

An Historian's Views must be various and extensive, and the History of different People and different Ages, requires different Rules, and often different Abilities to write it : I hope, therefore, the Reader will receive this first Attempt of the kind, in this Country, with more than usually Favourable Allowances.

The Inhabitants of *New-York* have been much more concern'd in the Transactions which followed the year 1688, than in those which preceeded that year. As it requires uncommon Courage and Resolution to engage willingly in the Wars of Cruel and Barbarous Enemies ; I should be sorry to forget any that may deserve to be remembred by their Country with gratitude. The *First Part* of this History going abroad by it self, may give those that have any *Memoirs* of their Friends who have distinguished themselves, an opportunity of Communicating them, and may thereby enable the Writer hereof to do some Justice to their Merit.

They likewise that are better acquainted with the *Indian Affairs* may, perhaps, find some Mistakes in what is now Published, and may know some things which I know not, if they will be so kind as to Communicate them, I shall gladly Amend and Insert them in what is to follow.

C. C.

*A short VOCABULARY of some Words and Names used by the French Authors, which are not generally understood by the English that understand the French Language, and may therefore be Useful to those that intend to read the French Accounts, or compare them with the Accounts now Published.*⁸

Names used by the French.

A BENAGUIES,

ALGONKINS,
AMIHOUIS,

ANIEZ,

BAY des PUANS,
CHYGAGON,
CORLAER ou
CORLARD,

DE - TROIT,

The same are called by the English or Five Nations.

O WENAGUNGAS, or
New-England Indians,
and are sometimes called the
Eastern-Indians.

ADIRONDACKS,
DIONONDADIES or TUI-
NUNDADEKS, a Branch
or Tribe of the *Quatoghies.*
MOHAWKS, called *Maquas*
by the *Dutch* living in the
Province of *New-York.*

ENITAJICHE.
CONERAGHIK,
SCHENECTADY. But the
Five Nations generally call
the Governor of *New-York*
by this Name, and they often
like wise comprehend under it
the People of this Province.
TEUCHSAGRONDIE,

HURONS,

XII. *A Short* VOCABULARY.

Names used by the French

HURONS,

ILINOIS,
IROQUOIS,
LAC HURON

LOUPS,
MANHATTAN,

MASCOUTECS,
MAURIGANS,

MIAMIES,
MICHILIMAKINAK,
ou MISSILIMAKINAK,
MISSISAKES,
NADOUESSIAUX,
ONEYOUTS,
ONNONTIO,

ONTARIO LAC,
ORANGE,

The same are called by the English or Five Nations

QUATOGHE. But the *French* now generally call those of that Nation only *Hurons*, who live at *Missilimakinack*, and who are called *Dionondadiks* *ronoon* by the *Five Nations*.

CHICTAGHIKS,
The FIVE NATIONS,
CANIATARE QUATOGHE
or *Quatogbe Lake*.

SCAKHOOK INDIANS.

NEW-YORK. The Island on which the City stands was called *Manhattan* by the *Indians*, and still retains that Name with the old *Dutch* Inhabitants.

ODISTASTAGHEKS,
MAHIKANDER, or *River-Indians*

TWIHTWIES.

TEIADONDORAGHIE.

ACHSISAGHEKS.

NADUISSEKS.

ONEYDOES.

YONNONDIO, The Name given to the *Governor of Canada* by the *Five Nations*.

CADARACKUI LAKE,

ALBANY. The *Dutch* of this Province call this place *Fort Orange* to this Day, being the Name given to it by the *Hollanders* when they possessed this Country.

A Short VOCABULARY. XIII.

<i>Names used by the French,</i>	<i>The same are called by the English or Five Nations</i>
OUTAGAMIES,	Under this Name the <i>French</i> comprehend the <i>Quakfies</i> and <i>Scunkfiks</i> .
OUTAWAES,	UTAWAWAS or <i>Wagunbas</i> , and sometimes <i>Necariages</i> , the <i>English</i> generally comprehend under the name <i>Utawawas</i> all the Nations living near <i>Missilimakiuak</i> .
RENARDS,	QUAKSIES,
SAUTEURS,	ESTIAGHIKS,
SHAOUONONS,	SATANAS,
TATERAS,	TODERIKS,
TERRE ROUGE,	SCUNKSIKS,
TONGORIAS,	ERIGES,
TSONONTOUANS.	SENNEKAS.

N B. The *Five Nations*, as they have severally a Different Dialect, use different Terminations, and the *French* generally distinguish that Sound in the *Indian Language* by (t) which the *English* do by (d) but I have neglected such small Differences.



XIV.

A Short VIEW
OF THE
Form of Government
OF THE
FIVE NATIONS.

IT is necessary to know something of the *Form of Government* of the People whose History one reads. A few words will serve to give the Reader a general Notion of that of the *Five Nations*, because it still remains under Original Simplicity, free from those complicated Contrivances which have become necessary to those Nations where Deceit and Cunning have increased as much as their Knowledge and Wisdom.

The *Five Nations* (as their Name denotes) consist of so many Tribes or Nations joyn'd together by a League or Confederacy, like the *United Provinces*, without any Superiority of any one over the other. This Union has continued so long that the *Christians* know nothing of the Original of it.

They are known to the *English* under the
Names

Names of *Mohawks*, *Oneydoes*, *Onondagas*, *Cayugas* and *Sennekas*; but it is probable that this Union at first consisted only of three Nations, viz. the *Mohawks*, *Onondagas* and *Sennekas*, and that the *Oneydoes* and *Cayugas* were afterwards adopted or received into this League; for the *Oneydoes* acknowledge the *Mohawks* to be their Fathers, as the *Cayugas* do the *Sennekas* to be theirs.⁹

Each of the Nations are distinguished into 3 Tribes or Families, who distinguish themselves by three different sorts of Arms or Ensigns, viz. the *Tortoise*, the *Bear* & the *Wolfe*. The Sachems of these Families, when they sign any Publick Papers, put the Mark or Ensign of their Family to it.¹⁰

Each Nation is an absolute Republick by its self, govern'd in all Publick Affairs of War and Peace by the *Sachems* or *Old Men*, whose Authority and Power is gain'd by and consists wholly in the Opinion the rest of the Nation have of their *Wisdom* and *Integrity*.¹¹ They never execute their Resolutions by Compulsion or Force upon any of their People. *Honour* and *Esteem* are their Principal Rewards, as *Shame* & being *Despised* are their Punishments. They have certain Customs which they observe in their Publick Affairs with other Nations, and in their Private Affairs among themselves, which it is *scandalous* for any one not to observe,

XVI. *A Short View of the*

and draw after them publick or private *Resentment* when they are broke.

Their *Generals* and *Captains* obtain their Authority likewise by the general Opinion of their *Courage* and *Conduct*, and loose it by a *Failure* in those *Vertues*.¹²

Their *Great Men*, both *Sachems* and *Captains*, are generally poorer than the common People, for they affect to give away and distribute all the *Presents* or *Plunder* they get in their Treaties or War, so as to leave nothing to themselves. If they should once be suspected of *Selfishness*, they would grow mean in the opinion of their Country-men, and would consequently loose their Authority.

Their *Affairs of Great Consequence*, which concern all the Nations, are Transacted in a *General Meeting* of the *Sachems* of every Nation. These Conventions are generally held at *Onondaga*, which is nearly in the Center of all the *Five Nations*.¹³ But they have fixed upon *Albany* to be the Place for their *Solemn Treaties* with the *English Colonies*.

The *Tuscaroras*, since the War they had with the People of *Carolina*, fled to the *Five Nations*, and are now incorporated with them, so that they now properly consist of *Six Nations* (tho' they still retain the old Name among the *English*.)¹⁴ The *Tuscaroras*, since they came under the Government of *New-York*, behave themselves

Government of the 5 Nations. XVII

selves well, and remain peaceable and quiet. By which may be seen the advantage of using the *Indians* well; and, I believe, if they were still better used, (as there is room enough to do it) the *Indians* would be proportionably more Useful to us.

As I am fond to think, that the present state of the *Indian Nations* exactly shows the *most Ancient and Original Condition* of almost every Nation; so I believe, here we may with more certainty see the *Original Form of all Government*, than in the *most curious Speculations* of the *Learned*; and that the *Patriarchal*, and other *Schemes* in *Politicks* are no better than *Hypotheses* in *Philosophy*, and as prejudicial to real Knowledge.

I shall only add the Character which *Monf. De la Poterie* gives of the *Five Nations* in his *History of North-America*, viz.

“ When one talks (*says bē*) of the *Five Nations* in *France*, they are thought, by a common Mistake, to be meer *Barbarians*, always thirsting after *Human Blood*; but their true Character is very different: They are the *Fiercest* and *most Formidable People* in *North America*, and at the same time as *Politick* and *Judicious* as well can be conceiv’d. This appears from their Management of the Affairs which they Transact, not only with the *French* and *English*, but likewise with almost all the *Indian Nations* of this vast Continent.



Errata.

PAg. 3. line 18. for *of the* read *of these*. P. 13. l. 9. f. *Naoious* r. *Nations*. P. 17. l. 19. for *Nipereriniens* r. *Nepiceriniens*, l. 25. dele *towards the*. P. 24. l. 13. dele *But*. P. 28. l. 13. for *accompariied* r. *accompanied*. P. 36. l. 11. f. *was* r. *were*. P. 74. l. ult. f. *Dedonondadik* r. *Deonondadik*. P. 80. l. 16. f. *did not, we should* r. *do not, we shall*. P. 94. l. ult. f. *Peterie* r. *Poterie*. P. 111. l. 28. f. *Prevent, Mr.* r. *prevent this, Mr.* P. 115. l. 23. f. *when* r. *then*. There are some other small Errors, which do not affect the Sense, and the Reader may easily correct.



A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THere is now Published a M A P of the great Lakes, Rivers and *Indian* Countries mentioned in the ensuing History. Printed and Sold by *William Bradford* in *New-York*.



THE HISTORY

OF THE

Five INDIAN Nations

Depending on the Province of *NEW-YORK*.

PART I.

From the first Knowledge the *Christians* had of
the *Five Nations*, to the Time of the Happy
Revolution in *Great Britain*.

CHAP. I.

*The Wars of the Five Nations with the Adiron-
dacks and Quatoghies.*

THE first Account we have of the *In-
dians*, who call themselves *Rodinunch-
fiouni*,¹⁰ now commonly known by the
A Name

Name of the *Five Nations*, (and by the *French* call'd *Les Iroquois*) was from the *French*, who fettled *Canada* under Mr. *Champlain*, their first Governor, in the year 1603. six years before the *Dutch* fettled *New-York*. When the *French* first arrived, they found the *Adirondacks* (by the *French* called *Algonkins*) at War with the *Five Nations*, which, they tell us, was occasioned in the following manner.

(a) The *Adirondacks* formerly lived about one hundred Leagues above *Trois Rivieres*,¹⁷ where now the *Utawawas* live; at that time they imploy'd themselves wholly in Hunting, and the *Five Nations* made Planting of Corn their whole business, by which means they became useful to one another, and lived in Friendship together, the *Five Nations* exchanging with the *Adirondacks* Corn for Venison. The *Adirondacks* valued themselves, and their manner of living, as more Noble than that of the *Five Nations*, and despised them for that reason.

At last the Game began to be scarce with the *Adirondacks*, they therefore desired that some of the young Men of the *Five Nations* might joyn with them, and assist them in their Hunting, which the *Five Nations* the more wil-

(a) Histoire de L' Amerique septentrionale par Mr. de Bacqueville de la Potherie, Vol. 1. Lettre 11.¹⁸

lingly agreed to, in hopes that thereby their People might acquire skill in Hunting.

It has been a constant Custom among all the Nations of *Indians*, to divide themselves into small Companies while they Hunt, and to divide likewise the Country among their several Parties, each having a space of 3 or four Miles Square allotted them, in which none of the others must pretend to Hunt; and if any Nation should encroach upon the Limits of another, in their hunting, they certainly draw a War upon themselves.

At this time the *Adirondacks* were obliged to spread themselves far, because of the scarcity of the Game, and each Party took some of the *Five Nations* along with them, who being less expert than the *Adirondacks*, perform'd most of the Drudgery in their March. One of the Parties, which consisted of six *Adirondacks*, and as many of the *Five Nations*, marched further than any of the rest, in hopes of the better Sport: They had, for a long time bad luck, so as to be obliged to live upon the Bark of Trees, and some Roots, which those of the *Five Nations* scraped out of the ground, from under the Snow. This extremity obliged the *Adirondacks* to part from those of the *Five Nations*, each making a separate Company; and after they had agreed on a Day to return to a Cabbin where both of them left

their Baggage, each took his Quarter to hunt in: The *Adirondacks* were unlucky, and return'd first to the Cabbin, where not finding those of the *Five Nations*, they did not doubt of their being dead of Hunger; but these young Men of the *Five Nations* were become dextrous with their Bows, and very cunning in approaching and surprizing their Game, which was chiefly owing to their being more patient and able to bear Fatigues and Hardships than the *Adirondacks* were, accordingly they soon arrived loaded with the flesh of Wild Cows. The *Adirondacks* could not believe that they were capable of such an Expedition, without being assisted by some of their Nation. However, the *Adirondacks* received them with pleasant Countenances, and congratulated them on their Success. Those of the *Five Nations* made the other a Present of the best of their Venison: They eat together with much Civility, on both sides: But the *Adirondacks* becoming Jealous of this Success, conspired together, and in the Night time murdered all the six Men of the *Five Nations*, while they slept. Next Morning the *Adirondacks* follow'd their Foot-steps, by which they had return'd to the Cabbin, and found the place where they had hunted, and much Venison which they had killed, which the *Adirondacks* dryed, and carried home along with them.

The

The rest of the *Five Nations* enquired after their Companions ; The *Adirondacks* answered very coolly, that they parted soon after they had left home, and they knew not what was become of them. But the People of the *Five Nations* being impatient to know something certain of their Companions, sent out several Parties in quest of them : They followed the Foot-steps of those Hunters, and found the six Dead Bodies, which the wild Beasts had dug up ; and upon examination found they had been Murdered. They made many Complaints to the Chiefs of the *Adirondacks*, of the Inhumanity of this Murder, who contented themselves with blaming the Murderers, and ordering them to make some small Presents to the Relations of the murdered Persons, without being apprehensive of the Resentment of the *Five Nations* ; for they look'd upon them as men not capable of taking any Revenge.

Those of the *Five Nations* smother'd their Anger, and not being willing to trust themselves any longer with the *Adirondacks*, they returned home to their own People, who then lived near *Montreal*^{ns} on the Banks of *St. Lawrence River*. They gave an account of this Assassination to their Nation, who upon hearing it conceiv'd a vast Indignation against the *Adirondacks*, who being advised of the secret movements of the *Five Nations*, Resolv'd to oblige them to submit
to

to their Law, by force of Arms. The *Five Nations* apprehending their Power, retired to the Southward of *Cadarackui Lake*,¹⁹ where they now live, and defended themselves at first but faintly against the Vigorous Attacks of the *Adirondacks*. But afterwards becoming more expert, and more used to War, they not only made a brave Defence, but likewise made themselves Masters of the great Lakes, and chased the *Shawanons* from thence.

While the two Nations were at War, the *French* arrived and settled in *Canada*, and the *Five Nations* having forced the *Adirondacks* to leave their own Country and retire towards *Quebeck*, the *French* thought themselves obliged to assist their New Allies, the *Adirondacks*, without examining into the Reasons of the War.

Thus began a War and Hatred between the *French* and the *Five Nations*, which cost the *French* much Blood, and more than once had like to have occasioned the entire Destruction of their Colony. The War had driven the *Adirondacks* to *Quebec*, and the desire of Trading with the *French*, had drawn likewise all their Allies that way, who agreed with them jointly, to make War against the *Five Nations*, and to attack them in their *own Country*.

Mr. *Champlain* desiring to give his Allies Proof of his Love, and the Valour of the
French

French Nation, put himself at the Head of a Body of *Adirondacks*, and passed with them into *Corlars Lake*, which from thistime the *French* have called by Mr. *Champlain's* name.²⁰

They had not long been in the Lake before they discover'd a Body of the *Five Nations* going to War. As soon as they saw each other, Shouts and Crys began on both Sides. Mr. *Champlain* made his men keep their Canoes at some distance; The *Five Nations* in the mean time landed, and began to intrench themselves, by cutting down the Trees round them; The *Adirondacks* stopt their Canoes near the Enemy, & sent to offer them Battel, who answer'd, *That they must stay till Morning, when both sides would have the Advantage of the Day Light*: The night passed in Dancing and War Songs, mixed with a thousand Reproaches against each other. Mr. *Champlain* had put some *French* in each Canoe, and order'd them not to show themselves, that their appearance might be the greater surprize to the Enemy, in the time of the Battel. As soon as day light appeared, the *Adirondacks* landed, in order of Battel, & the *Five Nations* to the Number of 200 Men marched out of their Intrenchments, and put themselves in order, with three Captains in the Front, having large Plumes of Feathers on their Heads, and then advanced with a grave Air and slow Pace. The *Adirondacks* gave a great Shout and open'd
to

to the Right and Left, to give room for Mr. *Champlain* and the *French* to advance: This new Sight surpriz'd the Enemy, and made them halt, to consider it, upon which the *French* firing, the three Captains were killed: This more surpriz'd the *Five Nations*; for they knew that their Captains had a kind of Cuirafs made of pieces of Wood join'd together, that was Proof against Arrows, and they could not perceive in what manner the Wound was given, by which they fell so suddenly. Then the *Adirondacks* gave a terrible Shout, and attacked the Enemy, who received them bravely, but a second Volley from the *French*, put them into such Confusion (having never before seen fire Arms) that they immediately fled. The *Adirondacks* took twelve Prisoners, and as the Custom of the Indians is, burnt one of them alive, with great Cruelty; His Torment had continued much longer than it did, if Mr. *Champlain* had not in Compassion & abhorrence of such Barbarity, Shot the poor Wretch thro' the Head.²¹

The *Adirondacks* having their Numbers thus very much encreased, and their fire Arms giving them new Confidence, propos'd nothing less to themselves, than the entire Destruction of the *Five Nations*, by open Force; And upon this their Young Warriors became Fierce and Insolent, and could not be kept
under

under any Discipline, Order or Subjection to their Chiefs or Captains, but upon all Occasions rashly attacked the Enemy, who were oblig'd to keep themselves upon the Defensive, and to make up what they wanted in Force, by Stratagems, and a skillful management of the War. The Young Men of the *Five Nations* soon perceived the Advantages they gain'd by this Conduct, and every day grew more submissive to their Captains, and diligent in executing any Enterprize, while the *Adirondacks* confiding in their Numbers and their fire Arms, thought of nothing but of Conquering by meer Force.

The *Five Nations* sent out small Parties only, who meeting with great Numbers of the *Adirondacks*, retired before them, with seeming Fear and Terror, while the *Adirondacks* pursued them with Fury, and without thought, till they were cunningly drawn into Ambuscades, where most of their men were kill'd or taken Prisoners, with little or no loss to the *Five Nations*.

By these means and their being frequently surprized by the *Five Nations*, while they remain'd confident in their Number, the *Adirondacks* wasted away, and their boldest Soldiers were almost entirely destroyed, while the Number of the *Five Nations* rather encreased
by

by the addition of the Prisoners which they took from the *Shawanons*.

It has been a constant Maxim with the *Five Nations*, to save the Children and Young Men of the People they Conquer, to adopt them into their own Nation, and to educate them as their own Children, without Distinction; These young People soon forget their own Country and Nation, ; and by this Policy the *Five Nations* make up the Losses which their Nation suffers by the People they loose in War. The wisest and best Soldiers of the *Adirondacks* when it was too late, discovered that they must imitate and learn the Art of War from those Enemies, that they at first Despised. Now five of their Chief Captains endeavour to perform by themselves singly, with Art and by Stratagem, what they could not perform by Force at the Head of their Armies ; but they having no longer any hopes of Conquering their Enemies, their thoughts were only set on Revenge.²²

The *Five Nations* had taken one of the chief Captains of the *Adirondacks*, and had burnt him alive. This gave *Piskaret*, who was the chief Captain of the *Adirondacks* so deep a Resentment, that the Difficulty or Danger of the most desperate Attempt made no Impression upon his Spirit, where he had the hope of Revenge.

I shall give the Particulars of this from the *French Accounts*; for by it the nature of the *Indians*, and the manner of their making War may be more easily understood.

Piskaret, with four other Captains, set out from *Trois Rivieres* in one Canoe, each being provided with three Fuzees. In two Days they reach'd *Sorel River*, where they perceiv'd five Canoes of the *Five Nations* with ten Men in each. At first those of the *Five Nations* believed that this Canoe was the van of some considerable Party, and therefore went from it with all the force of their Paddles. When they saw that after a considerable time, no others followed, they returned, and as soon as they came within call, they raised their War-Shout, which they call *Sassakue*, and bid *Piskaret* and his Fellows Surrender. He answered, That he was their Prisoner, and that he could no longer survive the Captain they had burnt; but that he might not be accused of surrendering Cowardly, he bid them advance to the middle of the River which they did, with surprizing Swiftness. *Piskaret* had before hand loaded all his Arms with two Bullets each, which he joyn'd together with a small Wire ten Inches in length with design to tear the Canoes in pieces (which it could not fail to do, they being made only of Birch Bark) and gave his Companions Dire-

tion, each to chuse a Canoe, and level his shot between Wind and Water

As the Canoes approached, he made as if he had design'd to escape; and to prevent him, those of the *Five Nations* seperated from each other with too much Precipitation, and Surrounded him. The *Adirondacks*, the better to amuse the Enemy, sung their Death Song, as ready to surrender themselves, when every one suddenly took his Piece and fired upon the Canoes, which they Reiterated three times, with the Arms that lay ready. Those of the *Five Nations* were extreemly surpriz'd; for Fire Arms were still terrible to them, and they tumbled out of their Canoes, which immediately sunk. The *Adirondacks* knock't them all on the head in the Water, except some of the chiefs that they made Prisoners, who's Fate was as cruel as that of the *Adirondack* Captain, who had been burnt alive.

Piskaret was so far from having his Revenge glutted with this Slaughter, and the cruel Torments with which he made his Prisoners dye, that it seem'd rather to give a keener edge to it; for he soon after attempted another enterprize in which the boldest of his Country-men durst not accompany him.

He was well acquainted with the Country of the *Five Nations*, he set out alone about the time that the Snow began to melt, with the
precaution

precaution of putting the hinder part of his Snow Shoes forward, that if any should happen upon his foot-steps, they might think that he was gone the contrary way ; and for further security went along a Ridge, where the Snow was melted, and where his foot-steps could not be discovered, but in a few places. When he found himself near one of the Villages of the *Five Naoious* he hid himself in a hollow Tree: In the Night he found out a Place nearer at hand, and more proper to retire into, for the execution of any Enterprize. He found four Piles of Wood standing close together, which the *Indians* had provided against the Winter and their busie times, in the middle of which was a hollow place, in which he thought he could safely hide. The whole Village was fast asleep when he enter'd a Cabbin, kill'd four Persons and took off their Scalps, being all that were in the House, and then return'd quietly into his Hole. In the Morning the whole Village was in an Alarm, as soon as the Murder was discovered, and the young Men made all possible haste to follow the *Murderer*. They discover'd *Piskarets* foot-steps, which appear'd to them to be the foot-steps of some Person that fled ; this encourag'd them in their Pursuit: Sometimes they lost the Tract, and sometimes found it again, till at last they entirely lost it, where the Snow was melted, and
they

they were forced to return, after much useless fatigue. *Piskaret* quiet in the midst of his Enemies waited with impatience for the Night. As soon as he saw that it was time to act (*viz.* in the first part of the night, when the *Indians* are observed to sleep very fast) he enter'd into another Cabbin, where he kill'd every Person in it, & immediately retir'd into his Wood-pile. In the morning there was a greater Outcry than before, nothing was seen but Wailing, Tears, and a general Consternation. Every one runs in quest of the Murderer, but no Tract to be seen besides the Tract which they saw the day before. They search'd the Woods, Swamps and Cliffs of the Rocks, but no Murderer to be found. They began to suspect *Piskaret*, who's Boldness and Cunning was too well known to them. They agreed that two men next night should watch in every Cabbin. All day long he was contriving some new *Stratagem*, he bundles up his Scalps, and in the night he slips out of his lurking place, He approaches one of the Cabbins as quietly as possible and peeps thro' a hole to see what could be done, there he perceived Guards on the Watch, he went to another, where he found the same care. When he discover'd that they were everywhere upon their Guard he resolv'd to strike his last blow, and opened a Door, where he found a Centinel nodding with his Pipe in his mouth,

Piskaret

Piskaret split his Scull with his Hatchet, but had not time to take his Scalp, for another man who watched at the other end of the Cabbin, raised the cry, and *Piskaret* fled. The whole Village immediately was in an Uproar, while he got off as fast as he could; Many pursued him, but as he was so swift as to run down the Wild Cows and the Deer, the pursuit gave him no great uneasiness; When he perceived they came near him, he would Halloe to them, to quicken their pace, then spring from them like a Buck. When he gain'd any distance he would loiter till they came near, then halloe, and fly. Thus he continued all day, with design to tire them out, with the hopes of over-taking him.

As they pursued only a single Man, five or six only of the Nimblest young Men continued the Chace, till being tired they were forced to rest in the Night, which when *Piskaret* observed, he hid himself near them in a hollow Tree. They had not time to take Victuals with them, and being wearied & hungry, and not apprehending any Attack from a single Person that fled, they all soon fell a sleep. *Piskaret* observ'd them, fell upon them, kill'd them all, and carried away their (b) Scalps."

These

(b) These are the Trophies of Victory which all the *Indian Nations* carry home with them, if they have time
to

These Stories may seem incredible to many, but will not appear to be Improbable to those who know how extremely Revengeful the *Indians* naturally are: That they every day undertake the greatest Fatigues, the longest Journeys, and the greatest Dangers, to gratifie that Devouring Passion, which seems to gnaw their Souls, and gives them no ease till it is satisfied. All Barbarous Nations have been observed to be Revengful and Cruel, the certain Consequences of an unbounded Revenge, as the Curbing of these Passions is the happy Effect of being Civilized.

The *Five Nations* are so much delighted with Stratagems in War, that no Superiority of their Force makes them neglect them. They amused therefore the *Adirondacks* and their Allies, the *Quatoghies*, (called by the *French*, *Hurons*) by sending to the *French*, and desiring Peace. The *French* desired them to receive some Priests among them, in hopes that these prudent Fathers would by some Art reconcile them to the *French*, and engage their Affections. The *Five Nations* accepted the Offer, and some Jesuits went along with them. But
after

to flea the Scalp from the Skull of their Enemies, when they have killed them; and sometimes they are so cruel as to flea the Scalp off, without killing them, or otherwise wounding them, but leave them in this miserable Condition with their Skull bare.

after they had the Jéfuits in their Power, they used them only as Hostages, and by that means obliged the *French* to be Neuter, while they prepared to Attack the *Adirondacks* and *Quatoghies*, and accordingly entirely destroy'd the *Quatoghies* in a Battel fought within two Leagues of *Quebeck*, while the *French* durst not give their Allies any assistance.²⁴

Indeed the *French* Author says, That if the *Five Nations* had known the weakness of the *French* at that time, they might easily have destroyed that Colony.²⁵

The Defeat of the *Quatoghies* struck Terror into all the Allies of the *Adirondacks*, who were at that time very Numerous, because of the benefit of the *French* Trade, which they had by their means; for before that time the *Indians* had not any Iron Tool among them.

The *Nipiceriniens*, who then lived on the Banks of *St. Laurence River*, fled to the Northward, in hopes that the extream Coldness of the Climate, and a barren Soil, would free them from the fear they had of the *Five Nations*.²⁶ The remainder of the *Quatoghies* fled with the *Utawawas* towards the Southwestward, and for their greater Security settled in an Island, which the *French* still call by their Name, which being further than the Name of the *Five Nations* had at that time

C

reached,

reached, they thought themselves secure by the Distance of the Place.²⁷

This Expedition having succeeded so well, the *Five Nations* gave out, that they intended next Winter to visit *Tonnondio* (the name they give to the Governor of *Canada*.) These visits are always made with much Show. They gather'd together 1000 or 1200 Men, and passing over *Corlaers Lake*, they fell in with *Nicolet River*, where it falls into the South side of *Lake St. Pierre*, in *St. Laurence River*, eight Leagues above *Trois Rivières*; Six Scouts marched three Leagues before the Army, who met with *Piskaret*, as he return'd from Hunting, loaded with the Tongues of wild Cows. As they came near him, they sang their Song of Peace, and *Piskaret* taking them for Ambassadors, stopt, and sung his. It is probable that he having glutted his private Revenge, and his Nation having been long harassed with a Cruel War, he too greedily swallow'd the Bait: Peace being what he and all his Nation earnestly desir'd. He invited them therefore to go along with him to his Village, which was but two or three Leagues further: and as he went, he told them, that the *Adirondacks* were divided into two Bodies, one of which hunted on the North side of *St. Laurence River*

River at Wabmache, three Leagues above *Trois Rivières*, and the other at *Nicolet*. One of the Scouts had on purpose staid behind, this Man followed *Piskaret*, and coming up behind him, knockt him on the Head with his Hatchet. Then they all returned to their Army with *Piskaret's* Head.²⁸ The *Five Nations* immediately divided likewise into two Bodies, they surprized the *Adirondacks*, and cut them in pieces.

Thus the most War-like and Polite Nation of all the *Indians* in *North-America* was almost entirely Destroy'd by a People they at first despised, and by a War which their Pride and Injustice brought upon them. *Immorality* has ever ruin'd the Nations where it abounded, whether they were Civilized or Barbarians, as Justice and strict Discipline has made others Flourish and grow Powerful.

A very few *Adirondacks* now remain in some Villages near *Quebeck*,²⁹ who still waste away and decay, by their drinking Strong Waters, tho' when the *French* first settled *Quebeck*, 1500 Men of them lived between that and *Silleri*, which are only a League distant,³⁰ besides those that lived at *Saguenay*, *Trois Rivières*, and some other places. After this Battle the *Adirondacks* have never been considered as of any consequence, either in Peace or War.

The *Quatoghies* and *Utawawas* soon began to be in want of the *European* Commodities, and their desire to make themselves considerable among their new Friends, set them upon attempting to return to trade at *Quebeck*, by which means the place of their retreat was discovered to the *Five Nations*, who not having their Revenge satiated, so long as any of that Nation remain'd, resolv'd at all hazards to march through these vast unknown Deserts, to satisfy their cruel Passion. The *Quatoghies* had the good Fortune to discover them time enough to make their Escape, and fled to the *Putewatemies*, who liv'd a days Journey further, where they and all the Neighbouring Nations secur'd themselves in a large Fort. The *Five Nations* followed, but being in want of Provisions, they could not attempt a Siege, and therefore propos'd a Treaty to the *Putewatemies*, which was accepted. The *Putewatemies* agreed to a League of Friendship, in which they acknowledged the *Five Nations* to be the Master of all the Nations round them, applauded their Valour, and promised to supply them with Provisions, but would not trust themselves out of their Fort. The *Putewatemies* accordingly sent them out a supply of Provisions, but with design to effect, by Treachery, what they durst not attempt
by

by Force ; for they Poison'd all the Provisions. This was discover'd to them by an old *Quatoghie*, who had a Son Prisoner among the *Five Nations*. His affection for his Son overcame his hatred to his Country's Enemies. This Treachery enraged the *Five Nations* against the *Putewatemies*, and the Neighbouring Nations, but Famine obliged them to return at this time, and to separate their Army into Parties, the better to provide for their Subsistence by Hunting. One of these Parties fell in with a Village of the *Chicktaghicks* (call'd by the *French, Illinois*) and surpriz'd the old Men, Women and Children, when the young Men were abroad Hunting, but they upon their return gather'd all the rest of the Villages, pursued the party of the *Five Nations*, and recover'd the Prisoners."

This was the first time that the *Five Nations* had appear'd in those Parts, but their Name was become so Terrible, that the *Chicktaghicks*, notwithstanding of this Advantage, left their Country, and fled to the Nations that lived Westward, till the general Peace was settled by the *French*, and then they return'd to their own Country.

C H A P.

C H A P. I I.

Their Wars and Treaties of Peace with the French, from 1665. to 1683. and their Affairs with New-York in that Time.

IN June, 1665, *Monf. de Traft* being Appointed Vice-Roy of *America*, arrived at *Quebeck*, after he had visited all the Islands in the *West-Indies*, and brought with him four Companies of Foot. In *September* of the same year *Mr. Courfel* arrived with the Commission of Governor General of *Canada*, with eleven Vessels, which transported a Regiment, and several Families, with all things necessary for the establishing of a Colony. The *French* Force being thus so considerably augmented, he resolved in the Winter to send out a Party against the *Mohawks*, which by the Cold, and their not knowing the use of Snow-Shoes, suffered very much, without doing any thing against the Enemy.

This Party fell in with *Schenechtady*, a small Town which *Corlaer* (a considerable Man among the *Dutch*)³² had then newly settled. When they appear'd near *Schenechtady* they were almost kill'd with Cold and Hunger, and the *Indians*, who then were in that Village, had

had entirely finished their Ruin, if *Corlaer*, (in Compassion of fellow *Christians*) had not contriv'd their escape. He had a mighty Influence over the *Indians*, and it is from him that all the Governors of *New-York* are call'd *Corlaer* by the Indians to this Day, tho' he himself never was Governor. He perswaded the Indians that this was but a small Party of the *French* Army, come to amuse them, that the great Body was gone directly towards their Castles, and that it was necessary for them immediately to go in Defence of their Wives and Children: which they did. As soon as the Indians were gone, he sent to the *French*, and supply'd them with Provisions to carry them back. The *French* Governor, in order to Reward so signal a Service, invited *Corlaer* to *Canada*, and, no doubt, with design to make use of his Interest with the Indians in some Project, in favour of the *French* Colony; but as he went through the Lake (by the *French* call'd *Champlain*) his Canoe was Overfet, and he drowned. From this Accident that Lake has ever since been call'd *Corlaers Lake* by the People of *New-York*.

There is a Rock in this Lake, on which the Waves dash and fly up to a very great height, when the Wind blows strong; the *Indians* fancy, that an Old *Indian* lives under this Rock, who has the Power of the Winds,
and

and therefore as they pass this Rock in their Voyages through this Lake, they always throw a *Pipe* or some *Tobacco*, or something else to this *Old Indian*, and pray a favourable Wind. The *English* that often pass with them, sometimes laugh at them; but they are sure to be told of *Corlaers Death* with a grave air. *Your great Country-man Corlaer* (say they) *as he passed by this Rock, jested at our Fathers making Presents to this Old Indian, and in derision turn'd up his Back-side towards the Rock, but this Affront cost him his Life.*

But the next Spring the Vice-Roy and the Governor, with 28 Companies of Foot, and all the Inhabitants of the Colony, marched into the Country of the *Mohawks*, with a design to destroy this Nation, which by the War not only prevented their Commerce with other Indians, but even prevented the Settlement of the Colony. This certainly was a bold Attempt, to march thus above 250 Leagues from *Quebeck*, through unknown Forrests; but all they were able to do, was to burn some of their Villages, and to Murder some Old Men, that (like the *Old Roman Senators*) would rather dye than desert their Houses.

This Expedition. however, gave the *Five Nations* Apprehensions they had not before; for they never before that saw so great a Number of *Europeans*, whose Fire-Arms were extremely

treably Terrible, and they therefore thought proper to send and beg a Peace, which was concluded in 1667.

But they being naturally very Enterprizing and Haughty, a Party of the *Five Nations* met with a Party of the *French* a hunting, and quarrelled with them. The *French* Author does not inform us of the particulars: But it seems the *Indians* had the Advantage, for they kill'd several of the *French* and carried one Prisoner into their own Country. Monf. *De Courfel* sent to Threaten the *Five Nations* with War, if they did not deliver up these Murderers.

The *Five Nations* being at this time apprehensive of the *French* Power, sent *Agariata*, the Captain of the Company that did the Mischief, with forty others, to beg Peace; but Mr. *Coursel* was resolv'd to make an Example of *Agariata*. He therefore ordered him to be Hang'd, in the Presence of his Country-men," which kind of Death they having never seen before, it struck them with Terror, & the *French*, think that this Severity was a great means of preserving the Peace till the year 1683.

The *Dutch* having settled *New-York* in 1609. (which they call'd the *New-Netherlands*) they enter'd into an Alliance with the *Five Nations*, which continued without any Breach on either side," and were frequently useful to the

D

French,

French, in saving the *French* that were Prisoners from the Cruelty of the *Indians*, as before observed.

In 1664. *New-York* was taken by the *English*, who immediately entred into an Alliance and Friendship with the *Five Nations*, which has continued without the least Breach to this Day. History, I am afraid, cannot inform us of an Instance of the *Most Christian* or *Most Catholick King* Observing a League so strictly, and for so long a time as these *Barbarians* have done.

Both the *English* and *French* (Peace being every where settled) endeavour to extend their Commerce and Alliances among the *Indians* which lie to the Westward of *New-York*. The *French* in their Measures discover'd a Design of Conquering and Commanding; for Mr. *de Frontenac*, who had succeeded in the Government of *Canada* in the Year 1672, perswaded the *Indians* to allow him to build a Fort at *Cadarackui*, under the Notion of a Store for Merchandize and security for his Traders, and under the same pretence built small Forts at some other considerable Passes far in the Country.

The *English* and *Dutch* Prosecuted their Measures only with the Arts of Peace, by sending People among the *Indians* to gain their Affections, and to perswade them to come to *Albany* to Trade; but ev'n these honest
Designs

Designs met with Obstruction, and had not so considerable Success, by reason of the War with the *Dutch*, as otherwise they might have had; for in the Year 1674. *New-York* being Surpriz'd by the *Dutch*, and Restor'd, the alterations in Government and of Masters, obstructed very much the designs of gaining the *Indians*. Their Trade was likewise considerably hindred by the War, which the *Five Nations* had with the (c) *River Indians*, which forced many of the *River Indians* to seek shelter among the *Utawawas*, who fell under the *French* Government.

At last the *English*, *Dutch* and *French* having made Peace in *Europe*, and the Governor of *New-York* likewise having obtain'd a Peace between the *Five Nations* and *Mabikanders* or *River Indians*, the *English* and *French* were at full liberty to prosecute their designs of extending their Commerce among the *Indians*, which both did with very considerable success and advantage to the Inhabitants of their Colonies.

But this Justice must be done to the *French*, that they far exceeded the *English* in the daring attempts of some of their Inhabitants, in travelling very far among unknown *In-*
D 2 *dians*,

(c) The *Indians* living on the Banks of *Hudsons River* within or near the *English* Settlements.

dians, discovering new Countries, and every where spreading the Fame of the *French* Name and Grandeur, by making themselves the Arbitrators in all difference between the *Indian Nations*. The *Sieur Perot* deserves to be remember'd, who pushed his Discoveries as far as the *Putewatemies* and Indians living round the farther Lakes, with the greatest Fatigues and Danger. He acquired the Languages of many Nations, and brought them to *Canada* to Trade, before the Peace was made with the *Five Nations*. In the Year 1667 he accompanied the Officer that was sent to the Fall of *St. Mary*, to take Possession of all that Country, in the name of the *French King*, in the presence of many of the Sachems of the Nations that liv'd round the Lakes, where there was an Alliance agree'd to with the *French*,³⁵ but (ev'n by the *French* Books) no Subjection was Promised.

In the Year 1697.³⁶ Mr. *De la Sale* built a Sloop or Bark of sixty Tons on *Ohsewego Lake*,³⁷ and provided her with great Guns. He carried this Vessel as far as *Missilimackinack*, and there loaded her with Furs and Skins, and then went on the Discovery of the *Mississipi*. He only left five or six *French* on board to carry her back to *Oniagara* : But the *Indians* entertain'd such a Jealousy of this floating Castle, that they resolv'd secretly to destroy it,

it, tho' they exprest nothing to Mr. *De la Sale*, but Admiration of the extraordinary Machine, and sent for all the Nations round to come to seee it. When they were together they consulted how to surprize and destroy it; and this design they kept so secret, not only before the Execution, that Mr. *De la Sale* had no suspicion of it, but afterwards likewise, for it was long before it was known what became of this Vessel. At first they thought of killing all the *French* among them, and throwing themselves on the *English* for their Protection; but their Courage fail'd them. They thought they might act with more security after Mr. *De la Sale* and his Company should be gone on their intended Discoveries. The *French* having no suspicion of their designs, permitted a Number of *Indians* to come on board in a Bay where the Bark came to an Anchor, in her return, and the *Indians* taking advantage of their Numbers, and the security of the *French*, murder'd the Men and burnt the Vessel.³⁸

The Courage and Resolution of these Gentlemen ought to be taken Notice of, for their Honour, notwithstanding that the *English* say, that the Barrenness and Poverty of *Canada* pushes the Men of Spirit there
upon

upon Enterprizes they would not attempt if they liv'd in the Province of *New-York*.

CHAP. III.

The Affairs of the Five Nations with the Neighbouring English Colonies.

THE *Five Nations* being now amply supply'd with Fire-Arms and Ammunition,³⁹ give full swing to their War-like Genius, and therefore resolv'd to Revenge the Affronts they had at any time receiv'd from their Neighbours. The nearest Nations as they were attackt, commonly flying to those that were further off, the *Five Nations* pursued This, together with a desire they had of Conquering and of making all the Nations round them their Tributaries, or to acknowledge the *Five Nations* to be their Masters, made the *Five Nation* over-run the greatest part of *North-America*. They carried their Arms as far South as *Carolina*, and to the Northward of *New-England*, and as far West as the *River Mississippi*, over a vast Country which extends 1200 Miles in Length, from North to South, and about six hundred Miles in Breadth, and entirely Destroyed many Nations that made Resistance.

These

These War-like Expeditions often prov'd Troublesom to the Colonies of *Virginia* and *Maryland*; for not only the Indians who were Friends to those Colonies, became Victims to the Fury of the *Five Nations*, but the *Christian* Inhabitants likewise were involv'd often in the same Calamity.

For this reason about the year 1677. the Government of *Maryland* sent Coll. *Coursey* to *Albany* to make a League of Friendship between *Virginia* and *Maryland* on the one part, and the *Five Nations* on the other;⁴⁰ but this League was soon shaken by some Parties of the *Oneydoes*, *Onondagas* and *Sennekas*, who were out when this Covenant was made, and were ignorant of it. One of these Parties met with the *Susquehana Indians*,⁴¹ who were in Friendship with *Maryland*, and fell upon them, kill'd four, and took six Prisoners. Five of these Prisoners fell to the share of the *Sennekas*, who, as soon as they arriv'd in their Country, sent them back with Presents, to shew that they kept to their League with *Maryland*; but the *Oneydoes* detain'd the Prisoner they had.

Another Party that went against the *Canageffe Indians* (Friends of *Virginia*) were surprized by a Troop of *Virginia* Horse, who kill'd one Man and took a Woman Prisoner. The Indians in Revenge kill'd four of the
Inhabi-

Inhabitants, and carried away their Scalps, with fix *Christian* Prisoners.⁴²

The *Mohawks* all this while kept themselves strictly to their League, and suffered none of their Indians to go towards *Virginia* and *Maryland*.

There is reason to think that the *Dutch*, who lived at *Schenectady* at that time, spirited up the *Indians* against the *English*; For the Commander at *Albany* hearing that the *Five Nations*, (the *Oneydoes* especially) were in an Alarm from some Jealousy that they had entertain'd of the *English* at *New-York* sent *Arnout* and *Daniel*, two Interpreters of the Indian Language, to persuade them to come to *Albany*, in order to be assured of the *English* Friendship, and to have their Jealousy remov'd. Which the Interpreters having happily brought to pass, *Swerisse*, one of the chief Men or Sachims of the *Oneydoes* excus'd his Country-men at *Albany*, the 15th of *February* 1678,9. as follows,

“ *Father Corlaer* ;

“ **W**E are now come to spea kto you of
“ some strange Occurences that have
“ lately happened.

“ Last Harveft one of our Indians, call'd,
“ *Treubtanendo*, went to *Schenectady* to buy
“ goods; he was told of the Mischief we had
“ done

“done in *Virginia*; To which the People of
“*Schenectady* added, That the *English* of this
“Government were very Angry, and that
“they would kill us.

“Soon afterwards another of our Indians,
“call’d, *Adagounwa*, went to *Schenectady*, in
“his way to *Albany*; He was told by the
“People there, That if he went forward to
“*Albany* he might sing to Morrow, for the
“*English* there would bind and kill him;
“Whereupon he and another *Indian* immedi-
“ately returned, and brought this Report to
“to our Castle at *Oneido*.

“But we now see the Governors good heart,
“notwithstanding of all this bad News.

“At last the People of *Schenectady* told five
“of our Indians, who intended for *Albany*,
“That if they went forward they would all
“be Dead Men; upon which one run im-
“mediately back, but the other four went
“forward. This Man, (who is called *Oun-*
“*wabrarihta*) told us, That the other four
“Men were taken by the *English*, and that two
“or three hundred Men were upon their way
“to fight us. Upon hearing of this, I ac-
“knowledge, that though I, *Swerisse*, be a
“Sachem, I left the Affair wholly to our
“Soldiers, seeing that they were Soldiers
“who came against us; Whereupon our Men
“immediately Resolv’d to Fortifie the Castle.

E

“While

“ While this was doing the War-Shout was
 “ raised. Our Men call’d out, *That Horse-men*
 “ *came against us; Now we shall be put to it.*
 “ These prov’d to be the two Interpreters,
 “ who being receiv’d into the Castle, our
 “ young Soldiers, whose Spirits had been ve-
 “ hemently raised, run round them with their
 “ Hatchets in their hands, threatning to kill
 “ them. But I, *Swerisse*, did what I could to
 “ pacifie our Men, and told the Messengers,
 “ *That we would hear them to Morrow.*

“ *Father Corlaer*; We desire that your Anger
 “ may be appeased, and that your Mind may
 “ be quieted. We give no credit to the
 “ stories which our *Indians* brought us from
 “ *Scheneectady*, and we shall not believe any
 “ such Stories for the future Seeing all of us
 “ to the Westward, ev’n from *New-York* to the
 “ *Sennekas*, are under one Government, Why
 “ is *Scheneectady* the only bad place? for We
 “ hold firmly to the Old Covenant.

Then he gave a Belt of Wampum (*d*)

He

(*d*) *Wampum* is the current Money among the *Indians*, it is made of the large Whelk Shell (*Briccinum*) and shaped like long Beads. With this, put upon strings, they make these Belts, which they give in all their Treaties, as signs of Confirmation, to remain with the other Party. The Wampum is of two sorts, *viz.* *White* and *Black*; the *Black* is the rarest, and most valuable. By a regular mixing of
 the

He in the next place gave an account of what had happened in *Virginia*, And then said,

“*Father Corlaer* ;

“Have Pity on our Indian Prisoners, as
“We have had on these Prisoners (*viz. A Woman and her two Children*) “which we
“now deliver to you, notwithstanding that
“they have been giv’n away, according to
“our Custom. We pray therefore his Ho-
“nour to take Pity on our People that are
“Prisoners, especially on the *Indian Woman*,
“his Kins-Woman, whom he hath adopted as
“a Grand-Child. Let them be Released, if
“alive, otherwise give us some of the *Cana-*
“*stoga Indians* in their room. As to the other
“three Christian Prisoners, the Woman and
“her two Children that are yet with us, We
“desire first to have our Indians Restored,
“or others in their room, before they be De-
“livered.

the Black and White they distinguish their Belts with various Figures, which they often suit to the Occasion of making use of them. *Wompum* is called *Zewant* by the *Dutch* in this Province.

Governor *Androfs*, being acquainted by Letter with this last Propofal of the *Oneydoes*, required the immediate Delivery of the Chriſtian Priſoners, and promiſed to write to *Virginia* to have the *Indian* Priſoners ſaved. Some preſents being given to to the *Oneydoes*, they answered,

“We Thank the Governor for his good
 “Inclination and Affection. Our Heart is
 “good, and we ſee his Heart is likewise good ;
 “if it was otherwiſe we could not live: We
 “thank the Governor for the Preſent now giv’n
 “us: It is his wellcome from *England*.

“*Father Corlaer*, We are your Children,
 “and the *Mohawks*, your Brethren, are like-
 “wiſe our Fathers. We rejoyce becauſe your
 “Hearts are good. Since the Governor is
 “not ſatiſfied with theſe three Priſoners, we
 “have now unanimouſly Reſolved to bring
 “the other three which are ſtill with us, as
 “ſoon as poſſible; but the Rivers are now ſo
 “full of Water, that we cannot bring them this
 “Moon, but the next Moon, I, *Sweriſſe*, pro-
 “miſe to come with them.

“We obey the Governor’s Orders, that
 “we may not be aſhamed, and therefore We
 “Release all the Priſoners. We hope the
 “Governor will likewise act ſo as he need
 “not be aſhamed.

“We do not now ſay, that we will ſee our
 Priſoners

“Prisoners before we deliver the other Christians, but refer this Affair wholly to the Governor’s Wisdom, which, we hope, will tend to our good and continued Wellfair. And say again, That we will bring the three Christian Prisoners by the first opportunity of fair Weather.

“We likewise make known to our Father *Corlaer*, That in our Fury and Anger (after the People of the South had fallen upon us) We took these six Prisoners, and afterwards four Scalps were brought by our People, and no more.

“We speak as *Oneydoes*, for our selves. If the *Susquehana* or *Delaware* Indians have done any Mischief, let not that be imputed to us.

“Eight of our People are now out against the *Christians*, of which we told *Aernout* and *Daniel* when they were at our Castle. They know nothing of what we have now agree’d to, and therefore if they should happen to do any harm, let it be pass’d by, for they are entirely Ignorant of the Governor’s Orders. If they shall do any thing, we shall not keep it secret. If any of the *Christian* Prisoners shall dye before we bring them, we should be sorry; yet they are Mortal.”

Accordingly in *May* following the *Oneydoes*
brought

brought the other three Prisoners to *Albany*. And on the 24th of that Month *Swerisse* made the following Speech, when he deliver'd them to the Commander at *Albany*, and the Commissioners for *Indian Affairs*.

“ *Breth'eren* ;

“ **W**E are come to this place with much
 “ Trouble, as we did last Winter,
 “ and renew the Request we then made, that
 “ six *Indians* be delivered to us in the room of
 “ the six *Christians*, in case those of our People
 “ who are Prisoners in *Virginia* be dead. None
 “ of our *Indians* have gone out against the
 “ *English* since we were last here ; but we have
 “ told you that some of ours were then out, who
 “ were ignorant of the Governor's Orders,
 “ and we desired that if they happen'd to
 “ do any harm, it might not be ill taken. Now
 “ thirteen of our People who went against
 “ our *Indian* Enemies, met with eighteen
 “ *English* on Horseback, as far from any of
 “ the *English* Plantations as *Cabnuaga* (*e*) is
 “ from *Albany*. They fir'd upon our Peo-
 “ ple ; ours being Soldiers, return'd their
 “ Fire and kill'd two Men and two Horses,
 “ and brought away their Scalps.

“ It would be convenient that the Gover-
 “ nor

(*e*) The first *Mohawk* Castle.

“nor acquaint the People of *Virginia*, not to
“send their Men so far abroad, for if they
“should happen to meet our Parties in their
“way against our Enemies, the *Cabnowas*,⁴³
“whom the *English* call *Arogisti*, dangerous
“Consequences might follow.

“We have now submitted to the Gover-
“nor’s Order, in bringing the three other
“Christian Prisoners. When we were here
“last Winter, we left the Affair of our Pri-
“soners wholly to the Governor, and pro-
“mised to bring the three Christian Priso-
“ners that remain’d with us. This we have
“now perform’d: But where are our Priso-
“ners, or if they be dead, the others in
“their room, tho’ it be already so late in
“the Spring: However, we still refer this
“to the Governor.

(Then taking the *Christian* Girl, who was
a Prisoner, by the hand, said) “This Girl
“was deliver’d to an *Indian Squa* (*e*) here
“present, who’s Brother then was kill’d.
“If we had been full of Wrath, and not
“afraid of further Inconveniencies, we would
“have burnt her.

(Taking the Boy, another of the three, by
the hand, said) “This Boy was giv’n to an
“*Indian* here present, but he is now free.
“We

(f) A Woman.

“We have now perform’d our Promises,
 “and are not ashamed. We hope *Corlaer*,
 “who Governs the whole Country, will
 “likewise do that of which he needeth not
 “be ashamed.

“*Corlaer* governs the whole Land, from
 “*New-York* to *Albany*, and from thence to
 “the *Sennekas* Land; We who are his Sub-
 “jects shall faithfully keep the Covenant
 “Chain: Let him perform his Promise, as
 “we have perform’d ours, that the Covenant
 “Chain be not broken on his side, who go-
 “verns the whole Country.

“*Corlaers* Limits, as we have said, stretch
 “so far ev’n to *Jacob my Friend*, or *Jacob*
 “*Young*, and we have heard that *Corlaer* is
 “in good Correspondence with *Virginia* and
 “*Maryland*; Why is it then that our Peo-
 “ple, who are Prisoners, are not restored?
 “Let what we now say be well observed,
 “for we have observed the Governor’s Or-
 “ders.

Lastly (taking the Woman Prisoner by
 the hand, said) “This Woman was given
 “to that *Indian*, (*pointing*,) but is now free,
 “being the sixth. If those of our People
 “who are Prisoners be Dead, let us have six
 “*Indians* in their room. It is not by my Au-
 “thority that these Prisoners have been re-
 “leased, but by the good Will of them to
 “whom

“whom they were given.

“Our Soldiers are to go out against the
“*Dewagunbas*, let us have Ammunition cheap.”

Then the Commissioners gave them Presents for their kind Usage of the Prisoners.

After which *Swerisse* stood up and said,
“Let *Corlaer* take care that the *Indian Squa*
“that is wanting come again, and for those
“that are killed, others in their room. If
“*Corlaer* will not hearken to us in this Affair,
“we shall not hereafter hearken to him in
“any.”

They hearing afterwards that these last words were ill taken, *Swerisse*, *Jehonongera* and *Kanobguage*, three of the chief *Oneydo* Sachems excused it, saying, “What we said of not
“hearkening any more to *Corlaer*, was not
“from the heart, but only by way of Dis-
“course, to make *Corlaer* more careful to
“release our People that are Prisoners; for
“it was said after your Answer, and without
“laying down either Bever or any Belt or
“Wampum, as we always do when we make
“(g)Propositions; Therefore we desire that

(g) The word *Proposition* has been always used by the Commissioners for *Indian Affairs* at *Albany*, to signify *Proposals* or *Articles*, in the Treaties or Agreements made with the *Indians*.

“if it be noted, it may be blotted out, and
“not made known to *Corlaer*; for we hold
“firmly to our Covenant, as we said in our
“Propositions.

They at the same time told, That the *Sinnondowans* (*h*) came to them with eight Belts, desiring that they should no longer prosecute the War with *Virginia*, or *Virginia Indians*, but to go with them to War against the *Dowaganhas*, (*i*) a Nation lying to the North-west ward; and that the *Sennekas* did desire them to set these *Christians* at Liberty, and to carry them to *Albany*. All which they said they promised to do.

The *Five Nations* continuing still to be troublesome to *Virginia*, that Government, in *September* following, sent Col. *William Kendall* and Col. *Southley Littleton* to *Albany*, to Renew and Confirm the League between *Virginia* and the *Five Nations*. Col. *Littleton* dy'd at *Albany* before the *Indians* arriv'd. Col. *Kendall* spoke to the *Oneydoes*, as follows,

(*h*) A Castle of the *Sennekas*, from whence the *French* call all the *Sennekas*, *Tsonontouan*.

(*i*) Comprehended under the General name of *Utawawas*.

The Propositions of Col. William Kendall and Col. Southley Littleton Commissioners sent by the Governor, Council and Burgeffes of Virginia, at a Grand Affembly held in James-City.

“**W**E are come from *Virginia*, being,
“as all these Countries are, under
“the Great King *Charles*, to speak to
“you upon Occasion of some of yours ha-
“ving entred our Houses, taken away and
“destroy’d our Goods and People, and
“brought some of our Women and Chil-
“dren Captives into your Castles, contrary
“to your Faith and Promise. It is also a
“Breach of the Peace made with Col. *Cour-*
“*sey*, without any Provocation or Injury in
“the least done by us, or disturbing you in
“your Hunting, Trade, or Passing, until you
“were found taking our Corn out of our
“Fields, and plundering and burning our
“Houses.

“Tho’ your Actions already done are suf-
“ficient Reasons to enduce us to a violent
“War against you, which might engage all
“our Confederate *English* Neighbours, Sub-
“jects to our great King *Charles*; yet through
“the great Respect we have to and the Per-
“suasions of the Governor here, whom we
“find your great Friend, and the Informa-
tion

“tion that he has given us, that you have
“quietly and peaceably deliver’d to him
“the Prisoners you had taken from us, who
“are also returned safely into our Country,
“and your Excusing the same, and Inclina-
“tion to continue Peaceable, without Inju-
“ring us for the future, We are therefore
“willing, and have, and do forgive all the
“Damages which you have done our Peo-
“ple, tho’ very great, Provided neither you
“nor any living among you, for the future,
“do not offend or molest our People or In-
“dians living amongst us.

“And we do acquaint you, that we have
“a Law in our Country, that all *Indians*
“coming near *Christians* must stand still, and
“lay down their Arms, as a token of their
“being Friends, or otherwise are taken and
“lookt upon or destroyed as Enemies.
“Therefore desire you will take notice
“thereof accordingly, for we have many of
“our People in the Woods abroad every
“way.

He spoke to the *Mohawks*, and the other Nations seperately from the *Oneydoes*, because the other Nations were supposed not to have done any Mischief.

“We are come here from *Virginia* upon
“occasion of some of your Neighbours do-
“ing of Mischief or Harm in our Country,
“which

“which upon the Interposition and Perfwafion of the Governour here, we have wholly paffed by and forgiven. And being inform’d, that you are not concern’d therein, but difowning fuch Actions, we did defire to fee you, and to let you know that continuing the like good peaceable Neighbourhood, you fhall find us the fame, and willing to do you Friendfhip at all times, but we muft acquaint you, that we have a Law, &c.” (repeating the fame words which he fpoke to the *Oneydoes* on that fubject.)

On the Twentifyfth, he thought it neceffary to repeat this laft Speech to the *Mohawks* by themfelves, who after they had receiv’d fome Presents, answered on the Twentysixth before Noon,

“**W**WE are glad to fee you here, and to fpeak with you in this place, where we never faw you before. We underftood your Propositions; We thank you for your Presents and fhall give you an Answer Afternoon.

In the Afternoon they faid,

“*Bretheren;*

“You have had no fmall trouble to come hither from *Virginia*, for it is a long Journey. We are at your request, and with our Governors

“vernors Consent, come to meet you in this
 “House, which is appointed for our Treaties,
 “to hear you speak, and to give you an An-
 “swer. But before we give an Answer, we
 “make the appointed House clean by giving
 “this (k) Fathom of Wampum.

“We just now said, that your long Journey
 “must have not been without much Fatigue,
 “especially to you who are an Old Man. I am
 “old likewise, and therefore I give you this
 “Fathom of Wampum to mitigate your pain.

“In the Beginning of your Speech you tell
 “us of the League or Covenant made with
 “Coll. *Coursey*. We remember it very well,
 “that it was made in our Governors Presence.
 “We have kept it hitherto, and are resolv’d
 “to keep it Inviolably. We are glad to see
 “you here, to renew this Covenant. You do
 “better than the People of the *East*, (*New-*
 “*England*) who made a Covenant at the same
 “time; for we have seen none of them since,
 “to renew and keep up the Remembrance of
 “it.’ Then they gave a Fathom of Wampum.

“We have said what we have to say, as to
 “the Covenant made with Coll. *Coursey*. You
 “desire

(k) A Fathom of *Wampum* is a single string of *Wampum* of that length, it is of less value than the Belts, and therefore given in Matters of smaller Consequence; and by cleaning the House, they mean putting away *Hypocrisy* and *Deceit*.

“desire us likewise to continue our good
“Neighbourhood. This we not only pro-
“mise to do, but likewise to keep the (1)
“Chain, which cannot be broken, clean and
“bright, and therefore we desire you to do
“the same.’ Then gave a Belt of Wampum
twelve deep.

“We are glad that by the Interposition
“and Perswasion of our Governor, the
“Mischeif which our Neighbours did in your
“Country is passed over, and now wholly
“forgiven. Let it be buried in Oblivion;
“for if any mischief should befall them
“(seeing we make but one body with them,)
“we must have partaken with them. We
“approve of your Law, to lay down our
“Arms as a token of Friendship, and we
“shall do so for the future.’ Then gave a
Belt fourteen deep.

“We were told before we heard your
“Propositions, that one of the Agents from
“*Virginia* was Dead. We lament and bewail
“his Death, but admire that nothing was
“laid down, according to our Custom, when
“the Death of such a Person was signified to
“us. We give you this Belt of Black
“Wampum (thirteen deep) to wipe away
“your Tears. The

(1) The *Indians* always express a League by a Chain by which two or more things are kept fast together.

The *Onnondagas* did not come till *November*, on the 5th of which Month the *Virginia* Agent spoke to them in the same words he had done to the *Oneydoes*. None of their Answers appear upon the Registers, except the *Mohawks*, which we have given. It is certain that the *Onnondagas* and *Oneydoes* did not observe the Peace with *Virginia*, but molested them with the reiterated Incurfions of their Parties. It is observable however, that these two Nations and the *Cayugas* only, had received *French Priests* among them, and that none of the rest who were not under the Influence of those Priests, ever molested the *English*; for which reason Coll. *Dongan*, tho' a *Papist*, complained of the ill Offices the Priests did to the *English* Interest, and forbid the *Five Nations* to entertain any of them, tho' the *English* and *French* Crowns, while he was Governor of *New-York*, in King *James's* Reign, seem'd to be more than ever in strict Friendship."

The *French* could have no hopes of persuading the *Indians* to hurt any of the Inhabitants of *New-York*, but they were in hopes, that by the *Indian* Parties doing frequently Mischief in *Virginia*, the Government of *New-York* would be forced to joyn in resenting the Injury, and thereby that Union between the Government of *New-York* and the *Five Nations* would be broke, which always ob-

structed

fructed and often defeated the Designs of the *French*, to subject all *North-America* to the Crown of *France*. For this reason the Governors of *New-York* have always, with the greatest Caution, avoided a Breach with these Nations, on account of the little Differences they had with the Neighbouring Colonys.⁴⁹

These new Incurfions of these two Nations were fo troublefome to the People of *Virginia*, that their Governor, the Lord *Howard of Effingham*, thought it neceffary for their Security, to undertake a Voyage to *New-York*.

The Sachems of the *Five Nations* being call'd to *Albany*, his Lordship met there eight *Mohawk*, three *Oneydoe*, three *Onnon-daga* and three *Cayuga* Sachems, and on the Thirtieth of *July*, 1684. being accompanied with two of the Council of *Virginia*, he fpoke to them as follows, in the prefence of Col. *Thomas Dongan*, Governor of *New-York*, two of the Council of *New-York*, and the Magiftrates of *Albany*. The *Sennekas* living far off were not then arriv'd.

*Propositions made by the Right Honourable Francis
Lord Howard of Effingham, Governor General of His Majesty's Dominion of Virginia,
To the Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onnondagas and Cayugas.*

“IT is now about seven years ago since
“You (unprovok'd) came into *Virginia*, a
“Country belonging to the Great King of
“*England*, and committed several Murders
“and Robberys, carrying away our *Christian*
“Women and Children Prisoners into your
“Castles. All which Injurys we designed
“to have Revenged on you ; but at the de-
“fire of Sir *Edmond Andros*, then Governor
“General of this Country, we desisted from
“destroying you, and sent our Agents Col.
“*William Kendall* and Col. *Southley Littleton*, to
“Confirm and make sure the Peace that Col.
“*Coursey* of *Maryland* included us in, when
“first he Treated with you. We find, that
“as you quickly forgot what you promised
“Col. *Coursey*, so you have willfully broke
“the Covenant Chain, which you promised
“our Agent, Col. *Kendall*, should be most
“strong and bright, if we of *Virginia*, would
“bury in the Pit of Oblivion, the Injurys
“you had then done us, which upon your
“Governor *Andros*'s Intercession, and your
“Sub-

“Submission, we were willing to forget;
“But you not at all minding the Covenant
“then made, have every year since, come into
“our Country, in a War-like manner, under
“pretence of Fighting with our *Indians*, our
“Friends and Neighbours, which you ought
“not to have done, our Agent having encl-
“ded them likewise in the Peace. You not
“only destroyed and took many of them
“Prisoners, but you have also kill’d and
“burnt our *Christian People*, destroying our
“Corn and Tobacco, more than you made use
“of, killing our Horses, Hogs and Cattle,
“not to eat, but let them ly in the Woods
“and stink. This you did, when you were
“not denyed anything you said you want-
“ed.

“I must also tell you that under the pre-
“tence of Friendship, you have come to our
“Houses at the heads of our Rivers (where
“they have been fortified) with a white Sheet
“on a Pole, and have laid down your Guns
“before the Fort, upon which our People
“taking you to be Friends, have admitted
“your great Men into their Forts, and have
“given them Meat and Drink, what they
“desired. After the great Men had refreshed
“themselves, and desiring to return, as they
“were let out of the Fort Gates, the young
“Men rushed into the Fort and plunder’d the

“ House, taking away and destroying all the
“ Corn, Tobacco, Bedding, and what else
“ was in the House. When they went away,
“ they took several Sheep with them, and
“ kill’d several Cows big with Calf, and left
“ them behind them, cut to pieces and flung
“ about, as if it were in Defiance of the Peace,
“ and destroying of our Friendship.

“ These, and many more Injurys that you
“ have done us, have caused me to raise
“ Forces, to send to the heads of our Rivers
“ to defend our People from your Outrages,
“ till I came to *New-York* to Col. *Thomas Dongan*,
“ your Governor General, to desire him, as
“ we are all one Kings Subjects, to assist me
“ in Warring against you, to Revenge the
“ *Christian* Blood that you have shed, and to
“ make you give full Satisfaction for all the
“ goods that you destroyed. But by the
“ Mediation of your Governor, I am now
“ come to *Albany* to speak with you, and to
“ know the reason of your breaking the Cove-
“ nant Chain, not only with us and our neigh-
“ bour *Indians* but with *Maryland*, who are
“ great King *Charles’s* Subjects; for our *Indians*
“ have giv’n great King *Charles* their Land.
“ Therefore I, the Governor of *Virginia*, will
“ protect them, as your Governor under the
“ Great Duke of *York* and *Albany*; will hence-
“ forth you, when the Chain of Friendship is
“ made between us all. “ Now

“Now that I have let you know that I am
“sensible of all the Injurys that you have
“done us, by the desire of your noble Go-
“vernour General, I am willing to make a new
“Chain with you for *Virginia, Maryland*, and
“our *Indians*, that may be more strong and
“lasting, even to the World’s end, so that
“we may all be Bretheren and Great King
“*Charles’s* Children.

“I propose to you, *First*, That you call
“out of our Countrys of *Virginia* and *Mary-*
“*land* all your young Men or Soldiers that
“are now there.

“*Secondly*, That you do not hinder or molest
“our Friend *Indians* from Hunting at our
“Mountains, it having been their Country
“and none of yours. They never go into
“your Country to disturb any of you.

“*Thirdly*, Tho’ the Damages you have
“done our Country be very great, and
“would require a great deal of Satisfaction,
“which you are bound to give, yet we as-
“sure you, that only by the Perswasions of
“your Governor, who is at a vast deal of
“Trouble and Charge for your Wellfare,
“which you ever ought to acknowledge,
“I have passed it by and forgiven you,
“upon this Condition, that your People,
“nor any living among you, never commit
“any Incurfions on our *Christians* or *Indians*
“living

“living among us, or in *Maryland*.

“For the better Confirmation of the same
 “and that the Peace now concluded, may
 “be lasting, I propose to have two (*m*)
 “Hatchets buried as a final Determination
 “of all Wars and Jarrings between us:
 “One on behalf of us and our *Indians*, and
 “the other for all your Nations united to-
 “gether, that ever did us any Injury, or
 “pretended to War against our *Indian* Friends
 “or *Maryland*.

“And that nothing may be wanting for
 “Confirmation thereof, (if you desire it)
 “we are willing to send some of our *Indian*
 “Sachems with an Agent next Summer,
 “about this time, that they may Ratifie the
 “Covenant with you here in this prefixed
 “House, where you may see and speak to-
 “gether as Friends.

“That the Covenant now made between
 “us in this prefixed House, in the presence
 “of your Governor, may be firmly kept
 “and perform’d on your parts, as it always
 “has on ours, and that you do not break
 “any one Link of the Covenant Chain for
 “the future, by your Peoples coming near
 “our Plantations; When you march to the
 “South-

(*m*) All Indians make use of the Hatchet or Ax as an emblem to express War.

“Southward, keep to the feet of the Moun-
“tains, and not come nigh the heads, of our
“Rivers, there being no Bever Hunting
“there; for we shall not for the future
“(tho’ you lay down your Arms as Friends)
“ever trust you more, you have so often
“deceiv’d us.

*The next Day the Mohawks answered first by
their Speaker, saying,*

“WE must, in the first place, say
“something to the other three Na-
“tions by way of Reproof for their not keep-
“ing the former Covenant, as they ought,
“and therefore we desire you, great Sachem
“of *Virginia*, and you *Corlaer*, and all Peo-
“ple here present, to hearken, for we will
“conceal nothing of the Evil they have done.

(Then turning to the other three Nations)
“You have heard Yesterday all that has been
“said; as for our parts, we are free of the blame
“laid on us for the Mischief done in *Virgi-*
“*nia* and *Maryland*. You are Stupid, Bru-
“tish, and have no Understanding, thus to
“break your Covenant. We have always
“been obedient to *Corlaer*, and have steadily
“kept our Covenant with *Virginia*, *Mary-*
“*land* and *Boston*; we must therefore Stamp
“Understanding into you. Let the Cove-
“nant

“nant made Yesterday, be carefully kept for
“the future. This we earnestly recommend
“to you ; for we are ready to cry, for shame
“of you. Let us be no more ashamed on
“your Account, but be obedient, and take
“this Belt to keep what we say in your
“Remembrance.

“Hear now, now is the time to hearken.
“The Covenant Chain had very near slipt.
“You have not observ’d your Covenant.
“Observe it now, when all former Evil is
“buried in the Pit.

“You *Oneydoes*, I speak to you as (*n*) Chil-
“dren. Be no longer void of Understand-
“ing.

“You *Onnondagas*, our Bretheren, you are
“like Deaf People, that cannot hear, your
“Senses are cover’d with Dirt and Filth.

“You *Cayugas*, Do not return into your
“former ways. There are three things we
“must all observe.

“*First*, The Covenant with *Corlaer*. *Second-*
“*ly*, The Covenant with *Virginia* and *Maryland*.
“*Thirdly*, The Covenant with *Boston*. We
“must Stamp Understanding into you, that
“you may be obedient. And Take this Belt
“for a Remembrancer.

Then

(*n*) The *Mohawks* always call the *Oneydoes* Children, and the *Oneydoes* acknowledge the *Mohawks* to be their Fathers.

Then *Odianne*, the same *Mohawk* Speaker, turning to my Lord, spoke in behalf of all the four Nations.

“We are very thankful to you, great Sachem of *Virginia*, that you are pleased to be persuaded by *Corlaer*, our Governor, to forgive all former Faults. We are very glad to hear you and to see your Heart softened. Take these three Bevers as a Token.

“We thank the great Sachem of *Virginia* for saying, that the Ax shall be thrown into the Pit. Take these two Bevers as a Token of our Joy and Thankfulness.

“We are glad that (o) *Affarigoa*,⁴⁶ will bury in the Pit what is past, and stamp thereon. Let a strong stream likewise run under the Pit, to wash the evil all away. Gives 2 Bevers.

“My Lord, you are a Man of great Knowledge and Understanding, thus to keep the Covenant Chain bright as Silver, and now again to Renew it, and make it stronger.

(Then pointing to the othe three Nations said,) “But they are Covenant Breakers. I lay down this as a Token that we *Mohawks* have kept the Covenant entire on our parts. Giving two Bevers and a Raccoon.

“The Covenant must be kept; for the fire
H “of

(o) The Name, which the *Five Nations* always give the Governors of *Virginia*.

“ of Love of *Virginia* and *Maryland* burns in
 “ this place, as well as ours, and this Covenant
 “ House must be kept clean. Gives two
 Bevers.

“ We now plant a (*p*) Tree, who's tops
 “ will reach the Sun, and its Branches spread
 “ far abroad, so that it shall be seen afar off; &
 “ we shall shelter ourselves under it, and live in
 “ Peace, without molestation. Gives two Bevers.

“ You proposed yesterday, that if we were
 “ desirous to see the *Indians* of *Virginia*, you
 “ are willing to send some of their Sachems
 “ next Summer about this time to this Place.
 “ This Proposal pleases us very much. The
 “ sooner they come, it will be the better, that
 “ we may speak with them in this House, which
 “ is appointed for our speaking with our Friends.
 And gave two Belts to confirm it.

“ You have now heard what Exhortation we
 “ have made to the other three Nations. We
 “ have taken the Hatchet out of their hands.
 “ We now therefore pray, that your Hatchet
 “ may likewise be buried in the Pit. Giving
 two Bevers,

“ Let the River be secure, for we some-
 “ times make Propositions to the *Raritan* and
 “ *Neveffink Indians*; but above all, let your
 “ *Virginia Indians* come securely hither, that
 “ we

(*p*) The *Five Nations* always express *Peace* under the
 Metapher of a *Tree*, in this manner.

“we may keep a good Correspondence with
“them.

“*My Lord*, Some of us *Mohawks* are out
“against Our Enemies that live a far off.
“When they come near your Plantations,
“they will do you no harm, nor Plunder as
“the others do. Be kind to them, if they
“shall happen to come to any of your Plan-
“tations. Give them some Tobacco and some
“Victuals; for they will neither Rob nor
“Steal, as the *Oneydoes*, *Onnondagas* and *Cayugas*
“have done.

“The *Oneydoes* particularly Thank your
“Lordship for hearkening to lay down the
“Ax. The Hatchet is taken out of all their
hands. And gives a Belt.

“We again thank your Lordship, that the
“Covenant Chain is Renewed. Let it be kept
“clean and bright, and held fast, Let not any
“one pull his Arm from it. We enclude all
“the *Four Nations* in giving this Belt.

“We again pray your Lordship, to take
“the *Oneydoes* into your Friendship, and that
“you keep the Covenant Chain strong with
“them; for they are in our Covenant. Gives
a Belt.

The *Oneydoes* give twenty Bevers, as satis-
faction for what they promised my Lord
Baltimore, and desire that they may be Dis-
charged.

My Lord and the Governor told them, That they would use their Endeavours with the Lord *Baltimore*, to persuade him to forgive what remained.

Then the *Indians* desired that the Hole might be digged, to bury the Axes, viz. One in behalf of *Virginia* and their *Indians*, another in behalf of *Maryland* and their *Indians*, and three for the *Oneydoes*, *Onnondagas* and *Cayugas*. The *Mohawks* said, there was no need of burying any on their Account ; for the first Chain had never been broke by them.

Then the three Nations spoke by an *Onnondaga*, call'd *Thanokjanikta*, who said,

“ We Thank the great Sachem of *Virginia*,
“ that he has so readily forgiven and forgot
“ the Evil that has been done ; And We, on
“ our parts, gladly catch at, and lay hold of the
“ Chain.” Then each of them deliver an
Ax to be buried, and gave a Belt.

The Speaker added, ” I speak in the Name
” of all three Nations, and inculde them in
” this Chain, which we desire may be kept
” clean and bright like Silver. Gives a Belt.

” We desire that the Path may be open for
” the *Indians*, under your Lordships Protection
” to come safely and freely to this place, in
” order to confirm this Peace.” Gives six
Fathom of Wampum.

Then the Axes were buried in the South-
east

east end of the Court-yard, and the *Indians* threw the Earth upon them. After which my Lord told them, *That since now a firm Peace was concluded, We shall hereafter remain Friends, and Virginia and Maryland will send once in two or three years to Renew it, and some of Our Indian Sachems shall come, according to your desire, to Confirm it.*

Last of all, the *Oneydoes, Onondagas* and *Cayugas*, joyntly, sang the *Peace Song*, with Demonstrations of much Joy; and Thank'd the Governor of *New-York* for his effectual Mediation with the Governor of *Virginia*, in their favour.

The *Mohawks* by themselves, and the other three Nations by themselves, spoke to the Governor of *New-York*, much to the same purpose that they did to the Governor of *Virginia*, so far as it related to the Affair of *Virginia*, but with some particular Marks of Personal Esteem; for he had won their Affections by his former carriage towards them. And they desired the *Duke of York's* Arms to put upon their Castles. Which, we may suppose, they were told, would save them from the *French*.

Coll. *Dongan* desired them to call home those
of

of their Nations that had fettled in Canada. (q) To which they answered, 'Corlaer keeps a 'Correspondence with *Canada*, and therefore 'he can prevail more than we can. Let *Corlaer* 'use his endeavours to draw our *Indians* home 'to their own Country.' And gave a Bever.

At the same Time, the Government of the *Massachusetts-Bay* had appointed Coll. *Stephanus Cortlandt*, one of the Council of *New-York*, their Agent, to Renew their Covenant with the *Five Nations*, and to give them some small Presents: Which was accordingly done.

The Governor of *New-York*, Coll. *Dongan*, concluded all, with this Advice to them, *Keep a good Understanding among your Selves: If any Difference should happen, acquaint me with it, and I will compose it. Make no Covenant or Agreement with*

(q) The *French* Priests had (from time to time) persuaded several of the *Five Nations* to leave their own Country, and to settle near *Montreal*, where the *French* are very industrious in encouraging them. Their Numbers have been likewise encreased by the Prisoners the *French* have taken in War, and by others who have run from their own Country, because of some Mischief that they had done, or Debts which they ow'd to the *Christians*. These *Indians* all profess *Christianity*, and therefore are commonly call'd *The Praying Indians* by their Country-men, and they are called *Cabnuagas* by the People of *Albany*.⁴⁷

with the French, or any other Nation, without my Knowledge or Approbation. Then he gave the Dukes Arms, to be put upon each of their Castles, in hopes it might deter the *French* from attacking them. (as they were threaten'd from *Canada*) after they had so manifestly declared themselves to be under the Protection of the Crown of *England*.

Before I proceed further it will be necessary to insert a Remarkable Speech made by the *Onondagas* and *Cayugas*, to the two Governors, on the 2d day of *August*, viz.

Brother Corlaer ;

“**Y**OUR Sachem is a great Sachem, and We
“ are but a small People. But when the
“ *English* came first to *Manhatan*, (*r*) *Aragiske*,
“ (*f*) and to *Yakokranagary*, (*t*) they were
“ then but a Small People, and we Great.
“ Then, because we found you a good People,
“ we treated you civilly, and gave you Land.
“ We hope therefore, now that you are Great
“ and we Small, you will protect us from the
“ *French*. If you do not, we shall loose all
“ our Hunting, and our Bevers. The *French*
“ will

(*r*) *New-York.* (*f*) *Virginia.* (*t*) *Maryland.*

“will get all the Bever. They are now angry
“with us, because we carry our Bever to our
“*Brethren*.

“We have put our Lands and our Selves
“under the Protection of the great *Duke of*
“*York*, the Brother of your great Sachem, who
“is likewise a great Sachem.

“We have given the *Susquehana River*,
“which We won with the Sword, to this
“Government, and we desire that it may be
“a Branch of the great Tree that grows in
“this Place, the top of which reaches the
“Sun, and its Branches shelter us from the
“*French*, and all other Nations. Our Fire
“burns in your Houses, and your Fire burns
“with us. We desire that it may always be
“so.

“We will not that any of the great *Penn’s*
“People settle upon the *Susquehana River*; for
“we have no other Land to leave to our Chil-
“dren.

“Our young People are Soldiers, and when
“they are disobliged they are like Wolves in
“the Woods, as you Sachem of *Virginia* very
“well know.

“We have put our Selves under the great
“Sachem *Charles*, that lives on the other side
“of the great Lake. We give you these two
“White drest Deer-Skins to be sent to the
“great Sachem, that he may write on them,
“and

“and put a great Red Seal to them, to Confirm
“what We now do, and put the *Susquehanna*
“*River* above the *Wasubta* (*u*) and all the rest
“of our Land under the great *Duke of York*,
“and give that Land to no body else. Our
“*Brethren*, his People, have been like Fathers
“to our Wives and Children, and have given
“us Bread, when we were in need of it:
“We will not therefore joyn our selves or
“our Lands to any other Government but
“this. We desire *Colaer*, our Governor,
“may send over this Proposition to the great
“Sachem, *Charles*, who dwells on the other
“side the great Lake, with this Belt of Wam-
“pum, and this other smaller Belt to the *Duke*
“of *York*, his Brother; And we give you,
“*Corlaer*, this Beaver, to send over this Pro-
“position.

“You great Man of *Virginia*, We let you
“know, that great *Penn* did speak to us here
“in *Corlaers* House, by his Agents, and de-
“sired to buy the *Susquehanna River* of us, but
“we would not hearken to him; for we
“had fasten’d it to this Government. We
“desire of you therefore, that you would
“bear Witness of what we now do, and that
“we now Confirm what we have done be-
“fore. Let your Friend, the great Sachem
I “that

“that lives on the other side the great Lake,
“know this, that We being a Free People,
“tho’ united to the *English*, may give our
“Lands, and be joyn’d to the Sachem we like
“best. We give this Bever to Remember
“what we say.

The *Senekas* arrived soon after, and on the 5th of *August* spoke to my Lord *Howard* in the following manner.

“**V**VE have heard and understood what
“Mischief hath been done in *Vir-*
“*ginia*. We have it as perfect as if it were
“upon our Fingers ends. O *Corlaer*! We
“Thank you for having been our Intercessor,
“so that the Ax hath not fallen upon Us.

“And you, *Affarigoa*, great Sachem of *Vir-*
“*ginia*, We Thank you for burying all Evil
“in the Pit. We are inform’d, that the
“*Mohawks*, *Oneydoes*, *Onnondagas* and *Cayugaes*
“have buried the Ax already; Now we that
“live the remotest off, are come to do the
“same, and to include in this Chain the *Cah-*
“*nawaas*, your Friends, who live amongst
“you. We desire therefore, that an Ax, on our
“part, may be buried with one of my Lords.
“O *Corlaer*! *Corlaer*! We Thank you for
“holding one end of the Ax: And We thank
“you, great Governor of *Virginia*, not only
“for

“for throwing aside the Ax, but more especially for your putting all Evil from your Heart. Now we have a New Chain, a strong and a streight Chain that cannot be broken. The *Tree of Peace* is planted so firmly that it cannot be moved. Let us on both sides hold the Chain fast.

“We understand what you said of the great Sachem that lives on the other side the great Water.

“You tell us, that the *Cahnawaas* will come hither to strengthen the Chain. Let them not make any Excuse, that they are Old and Feeble, or that their Feet are Sore. If the Old Sachems cannot, let the Young Men come. We shall not fail to come hither, tho’ we live the farthest off, and then the New Chain will be stronger and brighter.

“We understand, that because of the Mischief which has been done to the People and Cattle of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, we must not come near the Heads of your Rivers, nor near your Plantations, but keep at the foot of the Mountains; for tho’ we lay down our Arms, as Friends, we shall not be trusted for the future, but look’d on as Robbers. We agree, however, to this Proposition, and shall wholly stay away from *Virginia*: And this we do in gratitude

“to *Corlaer*, who has been at so great Pains
“to perswade you, *Great Governor of Virginia*,
“to forget what is past. We commend your
“Understanding, in giving ear to *Corlaer’s*
“good Advice; and we shall go a path which
“was never trod before.

“We have now done speaking to *Corlaer*,
“and the Governor of *Virginia*. Let the Chain
“be forever kept clean and bright, and we
“shall do the same.

“The other Nations, from the *Mohawks*
“Country to the *Cayugas*, have deliver’d up
“the *Susquehana River*, and all that Country,
“to *Corlaer’s* Government. We Confirm
“what they have done, by giving this Belt.
“Ten Bevers are at the *Onnondagas* Castle in
“their way hither; We design five of them
“for *Corlaer*, and the other five for the Sachem
“of *Virginia*.

Coll. *Bird*, one of the Council of *Virginia*,
and *Edmond Jennings*, Esq; Attorney General
of that Province, came with four *Indian*
Sachems, (according to my Lord *Howard’s*
Promise) to Renew and Confirm the Peace,
and met the *Five Nations* at *Albany* in September,
1685.

Coll. *Bird* accus’d them of having again
broke their Covenant, by taking an *Indian* Girl
from

from an *English* Mans House, and four *Indian* Boys Prisoners.

They excused this, by its being done by the Parties that were out when the Peace was concluded, who knew nothing of it; Which Accidents*they had provided against in their Articles. They said, The four Boys were given to the Relations of those Men that were lost, and it would be very difficult to obtain their Restoration. But they promised to deliver them up.

The *Senekas* and *Mohawks* declared themselves free of any blame, and chid the other Nations.

So that we may still observe the Influence which the *French Priests* had obtain'd over those other Nations, and to what Christian-like Purposes they us'd it.

The *Mohawks* Speaker said, *Where shall I seek the Chain of Peace? Where shall I find it, but upon Our Path? And whither doth Our Path lead us, but unto this House? This is a House of Peace.* And sang all the Covenant Chain over. He afterwards sang by way of Admonition to the *Onondagas*, *Cayugas* and *Oneydoes*, and concluded all with a Song to the *Virginia Indians*. But I suppose our Interpreters were not Poets enough to Translate the Songs, otherwise I might have gratified the Reader with a taste of *Indian Poetry*.

The

The *French Priests*⁴⁸ still had an Influence over the *Onondagas*, *Cayugas* and *Oneydoes*, and it was easie for them to spirit up the *Indians* (naturally Revengeful) against their old Enemies. This occasion'd a Party of the *Oneydoes* going out two years afterwards against the *Wayanoak Indians*, Friends of *Virginia*, and killing some of the People of *Virginia*, who assisted those *Indians*. They took six Prisoners, which they restored at *Albany*, with an Excuse, That they did not know that they were Friends of *Virginia*, and included in the Chain with *Virginia*. Coll. *Dongan*, on this Occasion, told them, That he only had kept all the *English* in *North-America* from joyning together to Destroy them; And at the same time threatned them, That if ever he should hear of the like Complaint, he would dig up the Hatchet, and joyn with the rest of the *English* to cut them off, Root and Branch; for there were many Complaints made of him to the King by the *English*, as well as the Governor of *Canada*, for his favouring of them.

Now we have gone through the Material Transactions which the *Five Nations* had with the *English*, in which we find the *English* pursuing nothing but *Peaceable* and *Christian Measures*, and the *Five Nations* (tho' *Barbarians*) living like good Neighbours and faithful Friends,

Friends, except when they were influenced by the Arts of the Jesuits; Tho' at the same time one cannot but admire the Zeal, Courage and Resolution of these Jesuits, that would adventure to live among *Indians* at War with their Nation; and the better to carry their Purposes, to comply with all the Humors and Manners of such a Wild People, so as not to be distinguished by strangers from meer *Indians*. One of them, nam'd *Milet*, remain'd with the *Oneydoes* till after the year 1694. he was advanced to the degree of a Sachem, and had so great an Influence over them, that the other Nations could not prevail with them to part with him. While he remain'd with them, the *Oneydoes* were frequently turn'd against the *Southern Indians* (Friends of the *English* Southern Colonies) and were always wavering in their Resolutions against *Canada*.⁴⁹

We shall now Return to see what effect the *French Policy* had, who pursued very different Measures from the *English*.

CHAP

CHAP. IV.

Mr. De la Barre's Expedition, and some Remarkable Transactions in 1684.

THE *French* in the Time they were at Peace with the *Five Nations*, built their Fort at *Teiodondoraghi* or *Missilimakinak*, and made a Settlement there. They carried their Commerce among the Numerous Nations that live on the Banks of the great *Lakes*, and the Banks of the *Mississipi*. They not only prosecuted their Trade among these Nations, but did all they could to secure their Obedience, and to make them absolutely subject to the *Crown of France*, by building Forts at the considerable *Passes*, and placing small Garrisons in them. They took all the Precautions in their Power, not only to restrain the *Indians* by Force, but likewise to gain their Affections, by sending Missionaries among them. The only Obstruction they met with, was from the *Five Nations*, who introduced the *English* of *New-York* into the *Lakes*, to Trade with the *Indians* that liv'd round them. This gave the *French* much uneasiness, because they fore-saw, that the *English* would not only prove dangerous Rivals, but that the Advantages
which

which they enjoy'd in Trade, beyond what it was possible for the Inhabitants of *Canada* to have, would enable the People of *New-York* so far to under-sell them, that their Trade would soon be Ruin'd, and all the Interest lost which they had gain'd with so much Labour and Expence. The *Five Nations* likewise continued in War with many of the Nations, the *Chictaghiks* particularly, who yielded the most Profitable Trade to the *French*; and as often as they discover'd any of the *French* carrying Ammunition towards these Nations, they fell upon them, and took all their Powder, Lead and Arms from them. This made the *French* Traders afraid of traveling, and prevented their *Indians* from hunting, and lessen'd the Opinion they had of the *French* Power, when they found that the *French* were not able to protect them against the Insults of the *Five Nations*.

The *Sennekas* lie next to the Lakes, and nearest to the Nations with whom the *French* Traded, and were so averse to the *French* Nation, that they never would receive any Priest⁵⁰ among them, and of consequence were most firmly attached to the *English* Interest, who supplied them with Arms and Powder, (the means to be Revenged of their Enemies.) For these reasons Mr. *De la Barre* (the Governor of *Canada*) sent a Messenger to Coll.

K

Dongan

Dongan, to complain of the Injuries the *Sennekas* had done to the *French*, and to show the necessity he was under to bring the *Five Nations* to Reason by Force of Arms; which Messenger¹ happening to arrive at the time the *Indians* met my Lord *Howard* at *Albany*, Coll. *Dongan* told the *Sennekas* of the Complaints that the *French* Governor made of them. They gave him the following Answer, in Presence of Mr. *De la Barre's* Messenger, on the 5th of *August*, 1684.

“WE were sent for, and are come, and
 “have heard what you have said to us, That
 “*Corlaer* hath great Complaints of us, both
 “from *Virginia* and *Canada*. What they com-
 “plain of from *Canada*, may possibly be true,
 “that our Young People have taken some of
 “their Goods; but *Tonnondio* is the cause of
 “it. He not only permits his People to
 “carry Ammunition, Guns, Powder, Lead &
 “Axes to the *Tuibtuibronoon* (x) our Enemies,
 “but sends them thither on purpose. These
 “Guns which he sends knock our Bever-
 “hunters on the head, and our Enemies carry
 “the

(x) *Ronoon* signifies Nation or People, in the Language of the *Five Nations*, they say *Twih-twih-ronoon*, *Chistag-bik-ronoon*, *Dedonondadik-ronoon*, &c.

“the Bevers to *Canada*, that we would have
“brought to our Brethren. Our Bever-
“hunters are Soldiers, and could bear this no
“longer. They met with some *French* in
“their way to our enemies, and very near
“them, carrying Ammunition, which our
“Men took from them. This is agreeable
“to our Customs of War, and we may there-
“fore openly own it; tho’ we know not
“whether it be practised by the *Christians* in
“such like cases.

“When the Governor of *Canada* speaks to
“us of the Chain, he calls us *Children*, and
“saith, *I am your Father, you must hold fast*
“*the Chain, and I will do the same. I will*
“*Protect you as a Father doth his Children.* Is
“this Protection, to speak thus with his
“Lips, and at the same time to knock us on
“the head, by assisting our Enemies with
“Ammunition?

“He always says, *I am your Father, and*
“*you are my Children*, and yet he is angry
“with his Children for taking these goods.
But, O *Corlaer*! O *Affarigoa*! We must com-
“plain to you. You, *Corlaer*, are a Lord,
“and Governs this Country; Is it just that
“our Father is going to fight with us for
“these things, or is it well done? We rejoiced
“when *La Sal* was sent over the great Water,
“and when *Perot* was removed, because they

“had furnished our Enemies with Ammunition; but we are disappointed in our hopes; for we find that our Enemies are still supplied. Is this well done? Yea, he often forbids us to make War on any of the Nations with whom he Trades, and at the same time furnishes them with all sorts of Ammunition, to enable them to destroy us.

“Thus far in Answer to the Complaints which the Governor of *Canada* hath made of Us to *Corlaer*. *Corlaer* said to us, that Satisfaction must be made to the *French* for the Mischief we have done them. This he said before he heard our Answer. Now let him that hath Inspection over all our Countries, on whom our Eyes are fix'd, let him, ev'n *Corlaer* judge and determine. If you say it must be paid, we shall pay it, but we cannot live without free Bever-hunting.

“*Corlaer*, Hear what we say, We Thank you for the Dukes Arms which you have given us to be put on our Castles, as a Defence to them. You command them. Have we wander'd out of the way, as the Governor of *Canada* says. We do not threaten him with War, as he threatens us. What shall we do? Shall we run away, or shall we sit still in our Houses? What shall we do?

“do? We speak to him that Governs and
“Commands us.

“Now *Corlaer* and *Affarigoa*, and all People
“here present, Remember what we have
“answered to the Complaints of the Gover-
“nor of *Canada*; Yea, let what we say come
“to his Ears.” Then they gave a Belt, and
said, there was five Bevers at *Onondaga* for the
Governor.

Monf. *De la Barre* at this time was gone
with all the Force of *Canada* to *Cadaraekui*
Fort, and order'd the three Vessels to be repair-
ed, which the *French* had built on that Lake.
His design was to frighten the *Five Nations* into
his own Terms by the Appearance of so great
an Army, which consisted of 600 Soldiers,
400 Indians, and 400 Men that carried Provi-
sions, besides 300 Men that he left to secure
Cadarackui Fort.⁵² But while he was at this
Fort, the Fatigue of Traveling in the Month
of *August* together with the Unhealthiness of
that place (the Country thereabout being
very Marshy) where he tarried six weeks,
occasioned so great a Sickness in his Army, that
he found himself unable to Perform any
thing, but by Treaty, and therefore sent
Orders to Monf. *Dulbut*, who was come from
Missilimakinak with 600 men *French* and *Indians*,
to stop. He passed a Cross the Lake with as
many men as were able to Travel, and arrived
at

at the River which the *French* call *La Famine*, and by the *Indians* call'd *Kaibohage*,⁶³ which runs from the *Onondaga* and *Oneydo* Countrys, and falls into *Cadarackui Lakes*. There were two Villages of the *Five Nations* on the North side of the Lake, about five or six Leagues from the *French* Fort, consisting of those *Indians* that had the most Inclination to the *French*: They provided the *French* Army with Provisions, while they remain'd at the Fort; but it is probable, sent an account to their own Nations of every thing that happen'd, which was the Reason of the Usage they afterwards met with from the *French*.

When Mr. *De la Barre* sent to Coll. *Dongan*, he was in hopes, from the strict Alliance that was then between the Crowns of *England* and *France*, and from Coll. *Dongan's* being a *Papist*, that he would sit still till he had reduced the *Five Nations*. But none of these Reasons permitted that Gentleman to be easie while the *French* attempted such things, as in their consequence would be to the highest degree Prejudicial to the *English Interest*, & put all the *English Colonies in America* in danger. Wherefore he dispatch'd the Publick Interpreter,⁶⁴ with Orders to do every thing in his Power to prevent the *Five Nations* going to Treat with Mr. *De la Barre*.

The Interpreter succeeded in his Design
with

with the *Mohawks*, and with the *Sennekas*, who promis'd that they would not go near the *French* Governor. But he had not the like Success with the *Onnondagas*, *Oneydoes* and *Cayugas*, who had receiv'd the *French Priests*. For they would not hear the Interpreter, but in Presence of the *French Priest*, and of Mr. *Le Maine*, whom the Indians call *Obqueffe*⁵⁵ (y) and three other *French Men*, that Mr. *De la Barre* had sent to persuade them to meet him at *Kaibobage*, ten Leagues from the *Onnondaga* Castle. They gave the following Answer to the Interpreter.

Arie, You are *Corlaer's* Messenger? *Obqueffe*
“ is the Governor of *Canada's*; and there fits
“ our Father⁵⁶ (z) *Tonnondio* acquainted us
“ some time ago, that he would speak with
“ us before he would undertake any thing
“ against the *Sennakas*. Now he hath sent for
“ all the Nations to speak with him in Friend-
“ ship, and that at a Place not far from *Onnon-*
“ *daga*, ev'n at *Kaibobage*. But our Brother
“ *Corlaer* tells us, That we must not meet the
“ Governor of *Canada* without his Permif-
“ sion; and that if *Tonnondio* have any thing
“ to say to us, he must first send to *Corlaer* for
“ leave to speak with us. *Tonnondio* has sent
“ long ago to us to speak withhim, and he has
“ lately

(y) That is, the Partridge. (z) Pointing to the Jesuit.

“ lately repeated that Desire, by *Onnissantie*,⁵⁷
“ the Brother of our Father *Twirbaersira*, that
“ sits there. He has not only intreated us by
“ our Father, but by two *Praying Indians*, one
“ an *Onnondaga*, the other the Son of an Old
“ *Mohawk* Sachem, *Connondowe*. They
“ brought five great Belts of Wampum, not
“ a Fathom or two only, as you bring. Now
“ *Obquesse* has been sent with three *French-men*:
“ *Yonnondio* not content with all this, has like-
“ wise sent *Denneboot*,⁵⁸ and two other *Mohawks*
“ to persuade us to meet him, and to speak
“ with him of good Things. Should we not
“ go to him, after all this Entreaty, when he
“ is come so far, and so near to us, certainly
“ if we did not, we should provoke his
“ Wrath, and not deserve this Goodness. You
“ say we are Subjects to the King of *England*
“ and *Duke of York*, but we say, we are Bre-
“ thren. We must take care of our selves.
“ Those Arms fixed upon the Post without
“ the Gate, cannot defend us against the Arms
“ of *La Barre*.

“ *Brother Corlaer*, We tell you, That we
“ shall bind a Covenant Chain to our Arm,
“ and to his, as thick as that Post (*Pointing to*
“ *a Post of the House*) “ Be not dissatisfi’d; should
“ we not imbrace this Happiness offer’d to
“ us, *viz.* Peace, in the place of War; yea,
“ we shall take the Evil doers, the *Sennekas* by
“ the

“ the hand, and *La Barre* likewise, and their ax
 “ and his Sword shall be thrown into a deep
 “ Water. We wish our Brother *Corlaer*
 “ were present, but it seems the time will not
 “ permit of it.

Accordingly *Garangula*,⁹⁹ one of the chief
 Sachems of the *Onnondagas*, with thirty War-
 riors, went with Mr. *Le Maine* to meet the
 Governor of *Canada* at *Kaibokage*. After he
 had remain'd two Days in the *French* Camp
 Mr. *La Barre* spoke to him, as follows, (the
French Officers making a Semi-circle on one
 side while *Garangula*, with his Warriors, com-
 pleted the Circle on the other.)

(*b*) *Monf. De La Barre's Speech to Garangula.*

“ **T**He King, my Master, being inform'd
 “ that the *Five Nations* have often infring'd
 “ the Peace, has order'd me to come hither
 “ with a Guard, and to fend *Obqueffe* to the
 “ *Onnondagas* to bring the chief Sachems to
 “ my Camp. The Intention of the great
 “ King is, that you and I may smoke the
 L “ Calumet

(*b*) *Voyages du Baron de la Hontan, Tome 1. Lettre 7.*

“ Calumet (c) of Peace together, but on
“ this Condition, that you Promise me, in
“ the Name of the *Sennekas, Cayugas, On-*
“ *nondagas, Oneydoes* and *Mohawks*, to give
“ entire Satisfaction and Reparation to his
“ Subjects, and for the future never to molest
“ them.

“ The *Sennekas, Cayugas, Onnondagas, Oney-*
“ *does* and *Mohawks* have Rob'd and Abus'd
“ all the Traders that were passing towards
“ the *Illinois* and *Umainies*, and other *Indian*
“ Nations, the Children of my King. They
“ have acted, on these occasions, contrary to
“ the Treaty of Peace. with my Predecessor.
“ I am order'd therefore to demand Satisfac-
“ tion, and to tell them, That in case of
“ of Refusal, or their Plundering us any
“ more, that I have express Orders to declare
“ War. *This Belt Confirms my Words.*

The

(c) The *Calumet* is a large Smoking Pipe, made of Marble, most commonly of a dark Red, well polished, shaped some-what in the form of a Hatchet, and adorned with large Feathers of several Colours. It is used in all the *Indian* Treatyes with Strangers, as a Flag of Truce between contending Partys, which all the *Indians* think a very high Crime to violate. These *Calumets* are generally of nice Workmanship, and were in use before the *Indians* knew any thing of the *Christians*; for which Reason we are at a loss to conceive by what means they pierced these Pipes and shaped them so finely, before they had the use of Iron.

“ The Warriors of the *Five Nations* have
“ conducted the *English* into the Lakes, which
“ belong to the King, my Master, and brought
“ the *English* among the Nations that are his
“ Children, to destroy the Trade of his Sub-
“ jects, and to with draw those Nations from
“ him. They have carried the *English* thither
“ notwithstanding the Prohibition of the late
“ Governor of *New-York*, who fore-saw the
“ Risque that both they and you would run.
“ I am willing to forget these things, but if
“ ever the like shall happen for the future, I
“ have express Orders to declare War against
“ you. *This Belt Confirms my Words.*

“ Your Warriors have made several Bar-
“ barous Incurfions on the *Ilinois* and *Umamies*.
“ They have Massacred Men, Women and
“ Children, and have made many of these
“ two Nations Prisoners, who thought them-
“ selves safe in their Villages, in time of Peace.
“ These People, who are my Kings Children,
“ must not be your Slaves, you must give
“ them their Liberty, and send them back
“ into their own Country. If the *Five Na-*
“ *tions* shall refuse to do this, I have express
“ Orders to declare War against them. *This*
“ *Belt Confirms my Words.*

“ This is what I had to say to *Garangula*, that
“ he may carry to the *Sennekas*, *Cayugas*, *On-*
“ *nondagas*, *Oneydoes* and *Mohawks* the Decla-

“ration which the King, my Master, has
“commanded me to make. He doth not
“wish them to force him to send a great Army
“to *Cadarackui Fort*, to begin a War, which
“must be fatal to them. He would be sorry
“that this Fort, which was the Work of
“Peace, should become the Prison of your
“Warriors. We must endeavour, on both sides,
“to prevent such Misfortunes. The *French*,
“who are the Brethren and Friends of the
“*Five Nations*, will never trouble their repose,
“Provided that the Satisfaction which I de-
“mand, be given, and that the Treatyes of
“Peace be hereafter observed. I shall be
“extreamly grieved if my words do not pro-
“duce the Effect which I expect from them;
“for then I shall be obliged to joyn with
“the Governor of *New-York*, who is
“Commanded by his Master to assist me, and
“burn the Castles of the *Five Nations*, and
“destroy you. *This Belt Confirms my Words.*”

Garangula was very much surprized to find the soft words of the *Jesuit*, and of the Governors Messengers, turn'd to such threatening Language. They were designed to strike Terror into the *Indians*. But *Garangula* having had good information, from those of the *Five Nations* living near *Cadarackui Fort*, of all the Sicknes and other Misfortunes which

which attended the *French* Army, they were far from producing the designed Effect. All the time that *Monf. De la Barre* spoke, *Garangula* kept his Eyes fixed upon the end of his Pipe. And as soon as the Governor had done speaking, he rose up, and having walked five or six times round the Circle, he returned to his place, where he spoke standing, while *Monf. De la Barre* kept his Elbow Chair, and said,

Garangula's Answer.

“ **Y** *Onnondio*, I Honour you, and the
“ Warriors that are with me all likewise
“ honour you. Your Interpreter has finished
“ your Speech; I now begin mine. My
“ words make haste to reach your Ears,
“ hearken to them.

“ *Yonnondio*, You must have believed when
“ you left *Quebeck*, that the Sun had burnt up
“ all the Forests which render our Country
“ Unaccessible to the *French*, Or that the
“ Lakes had so far overflown their Banks,
“ that they had surrounded our Castles, and
“ that it was impossible for us to get out of
“ them. Yes, *Yonnondio*, surely you must have
“ thought so, and the Curiosity of seeing so
“ great a Country burnt up, or under Water,
“ has brought you so far. Now you are
“ undeceived, since that I and my Warriors
“ are

“ are come to assure you that the *Sennekas*,
“ *Cayugas*, *Onnondagas*, *Oneydoes* and *Mohawks*
“ are all alive. I thank you, in their Name,
“ for bringing back into their Country the
“ *Calumet* which your Predecessor received
“ from their hands. It was happy for you
“ that you left under ground that Murdering
“ Hatchet which has been so often dyed in
“ the Blood of the *French*. Hear *Yonnondio*,
“ I do not Sleep, I have my eyes Open, and
“ the Sun which enlightens me discovers to
“ me a great Captain at the head of a Com-
“ pany of Soldiers, who speaks as if he were
“ Dreaming. He says that he only came to
“ the Lake to smoke on the great *Calumet*
“ with the *Onnondagas*. But *Garangula* says,
“ that he sees the Contrary, that it was to
“ knock them on the head, if Sickness had
“ not weakned the Arms of the *French*.

“ I see *Yonnondio* Raving in a Camp of
“ sick men, who's Lives the great Spirit has
“ saved, by Inflicting this Sickness on them.
“ Hear *Yonnondio*, Our Women had taken
“ their Clubs, our Children and Old Men
“ had carried their Bows and Arrows into
“ the heart of your Camp, if our Warriors
“ had not disarmed them, and retained them
“ when your Messenger, *Obquesse* appeared
“ in our Castle. It is done, and I have said it.

“ Hear

“ Hear *Yonnondio*, we plundered none of
“ the *French*, but those that carried Guns,
“ Powder and Ball to the *Twibties* and *Chic-*
“ *taghicks*, because those Arms might have
“ cost us our Lives. Herein we follow the
“ example of the Jesuits, who stave all the
“ Barrels of Rum brought to our Castle,
“ lest the Drunken *Indians* should knock them
“ on the Head. Our Warriors have not
“ Bevers enough to pay for all these Arms
“ that they have taken, and our Old Men are
“ not afraid of the War. *This Belt pre-*
“ *serves my Words.*

“ We carried the *English* into our Lakes, to
“ traffick there with the *Utawawas* and
“ *Qutoghies*, as the *Adirondacks* brought the
“ *French* to our Castles, to carry on a Trade
“ which the *English* say is theirs. We are
“ born free, We neither depend upon *Yonnondio*
“ nor *Corlaer*.

“ We may go where we please, and carry
“ with us whom we please, and buy and
“ sell what we please. If your Allies be your
“ Slaves, use them as such, Command them
“ to receive no other but your People. *This*
“ *Belt Preserves my Words.*

“ We knockt the *Twibtwies* and *Chictaghiks*
“ on the head, because they had cut down the
“ Trees of Peace, which were the Limits of
“ our Country. They have hunted Bevers
“ on

“ on our Lands : They have acted contrary
“ to the Custom of all *Indians* ; for they left
“ none of the Bevers alive, they kill’d both
“ Male and Female. They brought the *Sa-*
“ *tanas* (*d*) into their Country, to take part
“ with them, and Arm’d them, after they had
“ concerted ill Designs against us. We have
“ done less than either the *English* or *French*,
“ that have usurp’d the Lands of so many
“ *Indian Nations*, and chased them from their
“ own Country. *This Belt Preserves my*
“ *Words.*

“ Hear *Yonondio*, What I say is the Voice
“ of all the *Five Nations*. Hear what they
“ Answer, Open your Ears to what they
“ Speak. The *Sennekas*, *Cayugas*, *Onnondagas*,
“ *Oneydoes* and *Mohawks* say, That when they
“ buried the Hatchet at *Cadarackui* (in the
“ presence of your Predecessor) in the middle
“ of the Fort, they planted the Tree of
“ Peace, in the same place, to be there care-
“ fully preserved, that, in place of a Retreat
“ for Soldiers, that Fort might be a Rende-
“ vouze of Merchants ; that in place of Arms
“ and Munitions of War, Bevers and Mer-
“ chandize should only enter there.

“ Hear, *Yonondio*, Take care for the future,
“ that so great a Number of Soldiers as ap-
“ pear

(*d*) Called *Sawonons* by the *French*.

“ pear here do not choak the Tree of Peace
“ planted in so small a Fort. It will be a great
“ Loss, if after it had so easily taken root,
“ you should stop its growth, and prevent its
“ covering your Country and ours with its
“ Branches. I assure you, in the Name of
“ the *Five Nations*, That our Warriors shall
“ dance to the *Calumet of Peace* under its leaves,
“ and shall remain quiet on their Mats, and
“ shall never dig up the Hatchet till their
“ Brethren, *Yonnondio* or *Corlaer* shall either
“ joyntly or seperately endeavour to attack
“ the Country which the great Spirit has giv-
“ en to our Ancestors. *This Belt preserves my*
“ *Words, and this other, the Authority which the*
“ *Five Nations have given me.*

Then *Garangula* addressing himself to Mr.
Le Main, said,

“ Take Courage, *Obqueffe*, you have Spirit,
“ Speak, Explain my Words, Forget no-
“ thing, Tell all that your Brethren and
“ Friends say to *Yonnondio*, your Governor,
“ by the Mouth of *Garangula*, who honours
“ you, and desires you to accept of this Pre-
“ sent of Bever, and take part with me in my
“ Feast, to which I invite you. This Present
“ of Bevers is sent to *Yonnondio* on the part of
“ the *Five Nations*.⁶¹

When *Garangula*'s Harrangue was explain'd

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to

to Mr. *De la Barre*, he return'd to his Tent, enraged at what he had heard.

Garangula feasted the *French* Officers, and then Return'd. And *Monf. De la Barre* set out in in his way towards *Monreal*. As soon as the General was embarked with the few Soldiers that remain'd in Health, the Militia made the best of their way to their own Habitations, without any Order or Discipline.

Thus a very Chargeable and Fatiguing Expedition (which was to strike the Terror of the *French* Name into the Stubborn Hearts of the *Five Nations*) ended by a Dispute between the *French* General and an Old *Indian*.

When the *Indians* came to *Albany*, after they had met with Mr. *De la Barre*, (and were upbraided for it by Coll. *Dongan*) *Carachkondie*,⁶² an *Onnondaga*, slyly answer'd, *We are sorry, and ashamed; for now we understand that the Governor of Canada is not so great a Man as the English King that lives on the other side the great Water; and we are vexed for having given the Governor of Canada so many fine Wampum Belts.*

C H A P. V.

*The English Attempt to Trade in the Lakes, and
Mr. De Nonville Attacks the Sennekas.*

MOnsieur *Le Marquis de Nonville* having succeeded *Mr. De la Barre*, in 1685. and having brought a considerable Reinforcement of Soldiers with him, he resolv'd to Recover the Honour the *French* had lost in the last Expedition, and to Revenge the Slaughter that the *Five Nations* continued to make of the *Twichtwiks* and *Chictaghiks*, who had put themselves under the Protection of the *French*; for the *Five Nations* having entirely subdued the *Chicktagbiks*, (e) after a six years War, they resolv'd next to fall upon the *Twichtwies*, and to call them to an account for the Disturbance they had given some of the *Five Nations* in their Bever-hunting. The *Five Nations* have few or no Bevers in their own Country, and are for that reason obliged to hunt at a great distance, which often occasion'd Disputes with their Neighbours about the Property of the Bever, in some parts of the Country.

(e) Called *Illinois* by the *French*.

The Bevers are the most valuable part of the *Indian Trade*. And as the *Twibtwies* carried their Bever to the *French*, the *English* favour'd the *Five Nations* in these Expeditions, and particularly in the beginning of the year 1687, made the *Five Nations* a Present of a Barrel of Powder, when their whole Force was preparing to go against the *Twibtwies*. The *English* were the better pleas'd with this War, because they thought it would divert their Thoughts from the *Indians* that were friends to *Virginia*:⁶⁷ But the *French* were resolv'd to Support their Friends more effectually by a powerful Diverfion, and to change the Seat of the War.

For this purpose Mr. *De Nonville* sent, in May, 1687, great Quantities of Provisions to *Cadarackui* Fort, and gather'd the whole Force of *Canada* to *Montreal*. His Army consisted of 1500 *French* of the Regular Troops & Militia, and 500 *Indians* that lived near *Monreal* and *Quebeck*.

He sent likewise Orders to the Commandant at *Missilimakinak* to assemble all the Nations round him, and to March them to *Oniagara*, in order to joyn the Forces of *Canada* design'd against the *Sennekas*. And the other Officers posted among the *Indians* Westward, had the like Orders.

The *Twibtwies* receiv'd the Hatchet with joy, from the hands of the *French* Officer,
against

againſt the *Five Nations*. The *Outagamies* (f) *Kikabons*, and *Maskoutubs*,⁶³ who were not us'd to Cannoes, were at firſt perſwaded to joyn the *Twichtwies*, who were to march by Land to *Teuchſagrondie*, where there was a French Fort, at which they were to be ſupply'd with Ammunition: But after the *French* Officer left them, the *Utagamies* and *Maskuticks* were diſſwaded by ſome of the *Mahikander* Indians, who happen'd to be with a neighbouring Nation at that time.

The *Putewatemies*, *Malbominies* and *Puans* offer'd themſelves willingly, and went to the Rendezvouze at *Miſſilimakinak*, where they were receiv'd by the *Utawawas* with all the Marks of Honour uſually paid to Soldiers, tho' the *Utawawas* had no inclination to the preſent Enterprize; they could not tell, however, how to appear againſt it, otherwiſe than by inventing what Delays they could to prevent their Marching.⁶⁴

In the mean while, a Cannoe arriv'd, which was ſent by Mr. *De Norville* with his Orders to the Officers. This Cannoe in her Paſſage diſcover'd ſome *English* commanded by Major *McGregory*, in their way to *Teiodondaraghie*. The *English* thought (after they had an account

(f) The *Outagamies*, *Kikabons*, *Malbominies* and *Puans* live on the Weſt ſide of *Lake Michigan*.

of the new Alliance their King had enter'd into with the *French*) that the *French* would not disturb them in prosecuting a Trade with the Indians every where, and that the Trade would be equally free and open to both Nations. With these hopes a considerable Number of Adventurers, went out under the Conduct of Major *M^c Gregory* to Trade with the Indians living on the Banks of the Lakes ; and that they might be the more wellcome, persuaded the *Five Nations* to set all the *Dionondadie* Prisoners at Liberty, who went along with the *English* and conducted them towards *MissilimakinakorTeiodondoragbie*. But the *English* found themselves mistaken, for the *French* Commandant at *Teiodondoragbie*, as soon as he had Notice of this, sent 300 *French* to intercept the *English*.⁶⁵

(g) The *Utawawas* and *Dionondadies* having likewise an account of the *English*, designed to support their own Independency, and to encourage the *English* Trade. The Return of the *Dionondadie* Prisoners made that Nation very hearty in favouring the *English*, they therefore marched immediately off, with design to joyn Major *M^c Gregory*, but

(g) Histoire de Le Amerique Septentrionale par Mr. De la Peterie, Tome 2. Chap. 16.

the *Utawawas* were divided in their Inclinations, their Chief,⁶⁶ with about thirty more joyn'd the *French*, the rest remain'd in suspense and stood Neuter.

The *Utawawas* thus wavering, disconcerted the Measures of the *Deionondadies*, for they began to suspect the *Utawawas*, and therefore immediately return'd to secure their Wives and Children they had left near the *French* Fort with the *Utawawas*. The *English* and their Effects were seized without any Opposition, and were carried to the *French* fort at *Teiodondoragbie*.

The *English* brought great Quantities of Rum with them, (which the *Indians* love more than their Life) and the *French* being afraid that if the *Indians* took to drinking, they would grow ungovernable, did what they could to keep them from it. They were most concerned that the *Putewatemies*, (who had no knowledge of the *English*, or of that bewitching Liquor, and were firmly attached to the *French*) should not taste it.

The *Utawawas* still contrived delays to the March, and having got some of the *Putewatemies* privately by themselves, they offered them a Cag of Rum, and said, "We are all
" Bretheren, we ought to make one Body,
" and to have one Soul. The *French* invite us
" to War against the *Five Nations*, with design
" to

“ to make us Slaves, and that we should make
 “ our selves the Tools to effect it. As soon
 “ as they shall have destroyed the *Five Nations*,
 “ they will no longer observe any Measures
 “ with us, but use us like those Beasts that
 “ they tie to their Plows. Let us leave them
 “ to themselves, and they’ll never be able to
 “ accomplish any thing against the *Five Na-*
 “ *tions*.

But the *Putewatemies* had entertain’d such
 Notions of the *French*, as made them Deaf to
 all the Politicks of the *Utawawas*.⁶⁷

The *French* however grew Jealous of these
 Caballings, and therefore resolv’d to delay their
 March no longer, and would not stay one day
 more for the *Utawawas*, who desired only
 so much time to Pitch their Canoes, but went
 away without them.

Mr. *Tonti* Commandant among the *Chictag-*
bicks met with another Party of the *English*
 of about 30 Men in *Lake Okswego* as he march-
 ed with the *Chictagbicks* and *Twichtwicks*, and
 other neighbouring Nations to the General
 Rendevouze. He fell upon the *English*,
 Plundered them, and took them Prisoners,⁶⁸
 The *French* divided all the Merchandize among
 the *Indians*, but kept the Rum to themselves
 and got all drunk. The *Deonondadie* Prisoners,
 that Conducted the *English*, joyned with the
Mibikander Indians that were among Mr. *Tonti*’s
Indians

Indians (who had privately dissuaded about 200 of the neighbouring Nations from going along with *Tonti*) and endeavoured to persuade all the *Indians* to fall upon the *French*, while they were drunk, and destroy them, saying, *The French are a Proud, Imperious, Covetous People, that sell their goods at an extravagant Price: The English are a good Natured, Honest People, who will furnish you with every thing at reasonable Rates.* But these arguments were to no purpose, for these *far Indians* had entertained extraordinary Notions of the *French Power*, and knew nothing of the *English*.

The *French* and *Putewatemies* being gone from *Teiodondoragbie*, the *Utawawas* began to be afraid of the *French* Resentment, and therefore the better to keep up the colour they had put on their delays, marched over Land with all possible expedition, to the general Rendezvous near *Oniagara*, where all the *French* Force, both *Christian* and *Indian* was to meet.⁹⁹

The *Five Nations* being informed of the *French* Preparations, laid aside their Designs against the *Twiktwies*, and prepared to give the *French* a warm Reception. Upon this the Priest at *Onnondaga*⁷⁰ left them, and their Soldiers came to *Albany* to provide Ammunition. The Commissioners made them a Present of a considerable quantity of Powder and Lead, besides what they purchased. They were

under a great deal of Concern when they took leave of the Commissioners, and said, “ Since
“ we are to expect no other Assistance from
“ our Brethren, we must recommend our
“ Wives and Children to you, who will fly
“ to you, if any Misfortune shall happen to
“ us. It may be we shall never see you more;
“ for we are resolved to behave so as our
“ Brethren shall have no reason to be ashamed of us.”

We must now return to Mr. *De Nonville's* Army.

Monf. *Champigni* marched eight or ten Days before the rest of the Army, with between two and three hundred *Canadiens*. As soon as they arriv'd at *Cadarackui*, they surprized two Villages of the *Five Nations*, that were settled about eight Leagues from that Place, to prevent their giving any intelligence to their own Nation of the *French* Preparations, or the State of the *French* Army, as it was supposed they did in the last Expedition under Mr. *De la Barre*. These People were surprized when they least expected, and by them from whom they fear'd no harm, because they had settled there at the Invitation and on the Faith of the *French*. They were carried in cold Blood to the Fort, and tyed to Stakes to be tormented
by

by the *French Indians* (*Christians*, as they call them) while they continued singing in their Country manner, and upbraiding the *French* with their Perfidy and Ungratitude. But the *French* Policy had no Compassion on these Miserable People, when they were resolved to destroy their whole Nation.⁷²

While Mr. *De Nonville* was at *Cadarackui* Fort, he had an Account that the *Chicktagbiks* and *Twibtwies* waited for the *Quatoghies* and *Utawawas* at (h) *Lake St. Clair*, with whom they design'd to March to the general Rendezvous at the Mouth of the *Sennekas River*. For this Expedition was chiefly design'd against the *Sennekas*, who had absolutely refused to meet Mr. *De la Barre*, and were most firmly attached to the *English*. The *Sennekas* for this reason were design'd to be made Examples of the *French* Resentment to all the other Nations of *Indians*.

The Messenger having assured the General, that it was time to depart, in order to meet the Western *Indians*, that came to his Assistance, he set out the 23d of *June*, and sent one part of his Army in Canoes, along the North Shoar, while he with the other part passed along the South, that no accidents of wind

(b) In the Streights between *Ohjwego Lake* and *Quatoghie Lake*,

might prevent the one or the other reaching within the time appointed at the Place the *Indians* were to meet him. It happened, by reason of the good weather that both the Parties arrived on the same day, and joyned the Western *Indians* at *Irondequat*.⁷³ As soon as the men were put on shoar, they hauled up the Canoes, and began a Fort, where 400 Men were left to guard the Canoes, and the Baggage. Here a young *Canadien* was shot to death, as a Deserter, for conducting the *English* into the Lakes, tho' the two Nations were not only at Peace, but their Kings in stricter Friendship than usual. But this Piece of severity is not to be wonder'd at, when the *French* were resolved to undertake an unjust War, and every thing to put a stop to the *English* Trade, which now began to extend it self far into the Continent, and would in its consequence ruin theirs. The next day the Army began to march towards the chief Village of the *Sennekas*, which was only seven Leagues distant, every man carrying ten Biskets for his Provision. The *Indian* Traders made the Van with part of the *Indians*, the other part marched in the Rear, while the Regular Troops and Militia compos'd the main Body.* The Army marched four Leagues the first day, without discovering any thing. The next day the scouts advanced before the Army, as far as the corn Fields of the

the Village, without seeing any body, tho' they passed within Pistol shot of 500 *Sennekas*, that lay on their Bellies, and let them pass and repass, without disturbing them.

On the Report which they made, the *French* Marched with much haste, but little Order, in hopes to overtake the Women, Children and Old Men; for they no longer doubted of all being fled. But as soon as the *French* reached the foot of a Hill, about a quarter of a League from the Village, the *Sennekas* suddenly rais'd the War-shout, with a Discharge of their Fire-Arms. This put the Regular Troops, as well as the Militia into such a Fright, as they marched through the Woods, that the Battalions immediately divided, and run to the Right and Left, and in the Confusion fired upon one another. When the *Sennekas* perceived their Disorder, they fell in among them Pell-mell, till the *French Indians*, more used to such Fights, gathered together and Repulsed the *Sennekas*. There were (according to the *French* Accounts) a hundred *French-men*, ten *French Indians*, and about fourscore *Sennekas* kill'd in this Rencounter.

Mr. *De Nonville* was so dis-spirited with the Fright that his Men had been put into, that his *Indians* could not persuade him to pursue. He halted the remainder of that Day. The next day he Marched on with design to burn
the

the Village, but when he came there, he found the *Sennekas* had saved him the trouble; for they had laid all in Ashes before they Retired; Two Old Men only were found in the Castle, who were cut into Pieces and boyled to make Soop for the *French* Allies. The *French* staid five or six Days to destroy their Corn, and then marched to two other Villages, at two or three Leagues distance. After they had perform'd the like Exploits in those Places they return'd to the Banks of the Lake.⁷⁴

Before the *French* left the Lakes, they built a Fort of four Bastions at *Oniagara*, on the South side of the Streights, between *Ohswego Lake* and *Cadarackui Lake*, and left a hundred Men, with eight Months Provisions in it. But this Garrison was so closely blockt up by the *Five Nations*, that they all dy'd of Hunger, except seven or eight, who were accidentally reliev'd by a Party of *French Indians*.⁷⁵

The *Western Indians* when they parted from the *French* General, made their Harangues, as usual, in which they told him with what Pleasure they saw a Fort so well placed to favour their Designs against the *Five Nations*, and that they Relied on his never Finishing the War but with the Destruction of the *Five Nations*, or Forcing them to abandon their Country. He assured them, that he would act with such
Vigour

Vigour that they would soon see the *Five Nations* driven into the Sea.

He sent a Detachment of Soldiers to *Teio-dondoraghie*, and in his Return to *Canada*, which was by the North side of the Lake, he left the same Number of Men and Quantity of Provisions at *Cadarackui* Fort.

The *French* having got nothing but dry Blows, sent thirteen of the *Indians* that they surprized at *Cadarackui*, to *France*, as Trophies of their Victory, where they were put into the Gallies, as Rebels to their King."

CHAP. VI.

Coll. Dongan's Advice to the Indians. Adario's Enterprize, and Montreal Sacked by the Five Nations.

COLL. *Dongan*, who always had the *Indian Affairs* very much at heart, met the *Five Nations* at *Albany* as soon as possible after the *French Expedition*, and spoke to them on the 5th of *August*, in the following words, *viz.*

Bretbren;

" I Am very glad to see you here in this
" House, and am heartily glad that you
" have

“ have sustain’d no greater loss by the *French*,
“ tho’ I believe it was their Intention to de-
“ stroy you all, if they could have surpriz’d
“ you in your Castles.

“ As soon as I heard of their design to War
“ with you, I gave you Notice, and came up
“ hither my self, that I might be ready to give
“ all the Assistance and Advice that so short a
“ time would allow me.

“ I am now about sending a Gentleman to
“ *England*, to the King, my Master, to let
“ him know, that the *French* have invaded
“ his Territories on this side the great
“ Lake, and War’d upon the Brethren, his
“ Subjects. I would therefore willingly
“ know, whether the Brethren have given
“ the Governor of *Canada* any Provocation
“ or not ; and if they have, how, and in what
“ manner, because I am oblig’d to give a
“ true account of this matter. This business
“ may cause a War between the King of
“ *England* and the *French* King, both in *Europe*
“ and here, and therefore I must know the
“ Truth.

I know the Governor of *Canada* dare not
“ enter into the great King of *England*’s
“ Territories, in a Hostile manner, without
“ Provocation, if he thought the Brethren
“ were the King of *England*’s Subjects ; But
“ you having two or three years ago, made a
“ Covenant

“ Covenant Chain with the *French*, contrary
“ to my Command, (which I knew could
“ not hold long) being void of it self among
“ the *Christians*; for as much as Subjects (as
“ you are) ought not to treat with any Fo-
“ reign Nation,” it not lying in your Power,
“ have brought this Trouble upon your selves,
“ and, as I believe, is the only reason of their
“ falling upon you at this time.

“ *Brethren*, I took it very ill, that after you
“ had put your selves into the Number of
“ the great King of *England*’s Subjects, that
“ you should ever offer to make Peace or
“ War without my consent. You know that
“ we can live without you, but you cannot
“ live without us. You never found that I
“ told you a Lie, and I did offer you Assist-
“ ance as you wanted, provided that you
“ would be advised by me; for I know the
“ *French* better than any of you do.

“ Now since there is a War begun upon
“ you by the Governor of *Canada*, I hope
“ without any Provocation by you given,⁷⁸ I
“ desire and command you, that you hearken
“ to no Treaty but by my Advice, which if
“ you follow, you shall have the Benefit of
“ the great Chain of Friendship between the
“ great King of *England* and the *French* King,
“ which came out of *England* the other day,
“ and which I have sent to *Canada* by *Anthony*

O

Le

“ *Le Funard* ;” In the mean time I will give
“ you such Advice as will be for your good,
“ and will supply you with such Necessarys
“ as you will have need of.

“ *First*, My Advice is, that as many Pri-
“ soners of the *French*, as you shall take, that
“ you draw not their Blood, but bring them
“ home and keep them to Exchange for your
“ People, which they have Prisoners already,
“ or may take hereafter.

“ *2dly*, That if it be Possible, that you can
“ order it so, I would have you take one or
“ two of your wisest Sachems, and one or
“ two chief Captains of each Nation, to be
“ a Council to manage all Affairs of the War.
“ They to give Orders to the rest of the
“ Officers what they are to do, that your
“ designs may be kept Private, for after it
“ comes among so many People, it is Blazed
“ abroad, and your designs are often frustrated.
“ And those chief Men to keep a Corre-
“ spondence with me, by a Trusty Messen-
“ ger.

“ *3dly*, Now the Great matter under
“ Consideration with the Brethren, is, how
“ to strengthen themselves, and weaken your
“ Enemy. My Opinion is, that the Brethren
“ should send Messengers to the *Utawawas*,
“ *Twibtwicks*, and the farther *Indians*, and to
“ send back likewise some of the Prisoners of
“ these

“ these Nations, if any you have left, to
“ bury the Hatchet, and to make a Covenant
“ Chain, that they may put away all the
“ *French* that are among them, and that you
“ will open a Path for them this way, They
“ being the King of *England*’s Subjects like-
“ wise, only the *French* have been admitted to
“ Trade with them, for all that the *French* have
“ in *Canada*, they had it of the Great King of
“ *England*,⁸⁰ that by that Means they may come
“ hither freely where they may have every
“ thing Cheaper than among the *French*.
“ That you and they may joyn together against
“ the *French*, and make so firm a League that
“ whoever is an Enemy to one, must be to
“ both.

“ 4thly, Another thing of Concern is, that
“ you ought to do what you can to open a
“ Path for all the *North Indians* and *Mabikanders*⁸¹
“ that are among the *Utawawas* and farther
“ Nations: I will endeavour to do the same,
“ to bring them home; for they not daring
“ to return home your way, the *French* keep
“ them there on purpose to joyn with the
“ farther Nations against you, for your Destru-
“ ction; for you know, that one of them is
“ worse than six of the others. Therefore all
“ means must be used to bring them Home,
“ and use them kindly as they pass through
“ your Country.

“ 5thly, My Advice further is, That Messengers go in behalf of all the *Five Nations*, to the *Christian Indians* at *Canada*, to persuade them to come Home to their Native Country, and to promise them all Protection. This will be another great means to weaken your Enemy; but if they will not be advised, you know what to do with them.⁸²

“ 6thly, I think it very necessary for the Brethrens Security and Assistance, and to the endamaging the *French*, to build a Fort upon the Lake, where I may keep Stores and Provisions in case of necessity; and therefore I would have the Brethren let me know what Place will be most convenient for it.

“ 7thly, I would not have the Brethren keep their Corn in their Castles, as I hear the *Onnondagas* do, but to bury it a great way in the Woods, where few People may know where it is, for fear of such an Accident as has happen'd to the *Sennekas*.

“ 8thly, I have given my Advice in your General Assembly by Mr. *Dirk Wessels* and *Akus* the Interpreter, how you are to manage your Partys, and how necessary it is to get Prisoners, to exchange for your own Men that are Prisoners with the *French*. And I am glad to hear that the Brethren are so United, as Mr. *Dirk Wessels* tells me you
“ are

“ are, and that there are no Rotten Members
“ nor *French* Spyes among you.

“ 9thly, The Brethren may remember my
“ Advice which I sent you this Spring, Not
“ to go to *Cadarackui*; if you had, they would
“ have serv’d you as they did your People
“ who came from Hunting thither; for I
“ told you then, that I knew the *French* better
“ than you did.

“ 10thly. There was no Advice or Propo-
“ sition that I made to the Brethren, all the
“ time that the Priest liv’d at *Onondaga*, but
“ what he wrote to *Canada*, as I found by one
“ of his Letters, which he gave to an Indian
“ to carry to *Canada*, but was brought hither.
“ Therefore I desire the Brethren not to re-
“ ceive him or any *French Priests* any more,
“ having sent for *English Priests*, with whom
“ you may be supply’d to your Content.”

“ 11. I would have the Brethren look out
“ sharp for fear of being surpris’d. I be-
“ lieve all the Strength of the *French* will be
“ at their Frontier Places, viz. at *Cadarackui*
“ and *Oniagara*, where they build a Fort now,
“ and at *Trois Rivieres, Montreal* and *Chambly*.

“ 12. Let me put you in mind again, not
“ to make any Treatys without my Means,
“ which will be more Advantagious for you,
“ than your doing it by your selves, for then
“ you will be look’d upon as the King of
“ *England’s*

“ *England’s* Subjects. And let me know, from
“ time to time, every thing that is done.

“ Thus far I have spoken to you relating to
“ the War.

Then he chid them for their Breach of Faith with *Virginia*. He told them, that he was inform’d that last Spring they had kill’d a fine Gentleman, with some others, and that a Party of the *Oneydoes* was now there at the head of *James’s* River, with intention to destroy all the *Indians* there-about. They had taken six Prisoners, whom he order’d them to bring to him, to be Restored; and that for the future they should desist from doing any Injury to the People of *Virginia* or their *Indians*, otherwise all the *English* would unite to destroy them. But at the same time he free’d the *Sennekas* from any blame, and commended them as a *brave and honest People, who never had done any thing contrary to his Orders, except in making that unlucky Peace with the French three years ago.*

Lastly, He recommended to them, Not to suffer their People to be Drunk, during the War: A Soldier thereby (he said) looses his Reputation, because of the Advantages it will give the Enemy over him.

This honest Gentleman earnestly pursued the Interest of his Country; but, it seems, his Measures were not agreeable to those his
Master

Master had taken with the *French* King; for he had Orders to procure a Peace for the *French*, and was soon after this Removed from his Government. Indeed such an Active, as well as Prudent Governor of *New-York*, could not be acceptable to the *French*, who had the Universal Monarchy in view, in *America* as well as in *Europe*.

Coll. *Dongan's* Message to Mr. *De Nonville* at a time when the Crowns of *England* and *France* had so lately entered into a strict Friendship, had, no doubt, some Influence on the *French* Governor. But the little Success he had in his Expensive and Dangerous Expedition, together with the Obstruction that the *French* Trade met with from the War, inclin'd him more effectually to Proposals of Peace, which Coll. *Dongan* was forced to make, and the *Five Nations* to yield to: For notwithstanding Coll. *Dongan's* Advice to them, as above related, he by his Masters Orders (who was entirely devoted to Bigotry and the *French* Interest) obliged the *Five Nations* to agree to a Cessation of Arms, and to deliver up their Prisoners without any Conditions, in order to obtain a Peace on such Terms as the *French* should agree to. And that no Accident might prevent, Mr. *De Nonville* sent his Orders to all his Officers in the *Indian* Countrys to observe a Cessation of Arms till the Ambassadors of the
Five

Five Nations should meet him at *Montreal*, as they had given him reason to expect in a little time, to conclude the Peace in the usual Form.⁸⁴

In the mean time, *Adario*, the chief of the *Deonondadies*, finding that his Nation was become suspected by the *French*, since the time they had shown so much Inclination to the *English* when they attempted to Trade at *Missilimakinak*, Resolved by some brave Action against the *Five Nations* to recover the good Graces of the *French*.

For this Purpose he Marched from *Missilimakinak* at the head of a hundred Men; and that he might act with more Security, he took *Cadarackui* Fort in his way for Intelligence: The Commandant informed him, that Mr. *De Nonville* was in hopes of concluding a Peace with the *Five Nations*, and expected their Embassadors in eight or ten days at *Montreal* for that purpose, and therefore desired him to return to *Missilimakinak* without attempting any thing that might Obstruct so good a Design.

The *Indian* being surprized with this News, was under great Concern for his Nation, which he was afraid would be sacrificed to the *French* Resentment or Interest, but disssembled his Concern before the *French* Officer. He went from *Cadarackui*, not to return home as the Commandant thought, but to wait for the

the *Ambassadors* of the 5 *Nations* near one of the Falls of *Cadarackui River*, by which he knew they must pass. He did not lurk there above four or five days before the unhappy Deputies came guarded by forty young Soldiers, who were all surpris'd & kill'd or taken Prisoners. As soon as the Prisoners were all secured, the cunning *Deonondadie* told them "That he having
" been enform'd by the Governor of *Canada*,
" That Fifty Warriors of their Nation were
" to pass this way about this time, he had
" secured this Pass, not doubting of inter-
" cepting them.

The Ambassadors being much surpris'd with the *French* Perfidy, told *Adario* the Design of their Journey, who, the better to play his part, seem'd to grow Mad and Furious, declaiming against Mr. *De Nonville*, and said, *He would, some Time or other be Revenged of him for making a Tool of him to commit such horrid Treachery.* Then looking stedfastly on the Prisoners (among whom *Dekanesora* was the Principal Ambassador) *Adario* said to them, *Go my Brethren, I Unty your Bonds, and send you Home again, tho' our Nations be at War; The French Governor has made me commit so black an Action, that I shall never be easy after it till your Five Nations shall have taken full Vengeance.*

This was sufficient to perswade the Ambassadors of the Truth of what he said, who

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assured

assured him, That he and his Nation might make their Peace when they pleased. *Adario* lost only one Man on this occasion, and would keep a *Satana* Slave, (adopted into the *Five Nations*) to fill up his place. Then he gave Arms, Powder and Ball to the rest of the Prisoners, to enable them to Return.

The Ambassadors were chiefly if not all, *Onondagas* and *Oneydoes*, who had been long under the influence of the *French Priests*, and still retain'd an Affection to them; but this Adventure throughly changed their thoughts, and irritated them so heartily against the *French*, that all the *Five Nations* from this time prosecuted the War unanimously.

Adario deliver'd the Slave (his Prisoner) to the *French* at *Missilimakinak*, who to keep up the Enmity between the *Deonondadies* and the *Five Nations*, order'd him to be shot to Death. As they carried him out, he related the whole of the Action, but the *French* thinking that he had only contrived it to save his Life, had no regard to it, till the fatal Consequences call'd his Dying Words to their Remembrance, with sorrowful Reflections.

The same Day that the *Satana* was shot, *Adario* call'd one of the *Five Nations*, who had been long a Prisoner, to be an Eye-witness of his Country-mans Death, then bid him make his Escape to his own Country, to give an
Account

Account of the *French* Cruelty, from which it was not in his Power to save a Prisoner he himself had taken.⁸⁵

This heighten'd the Rage of the *Five Nations*, so that Mr. *De Nonville*'s sending to disown *Adario* (*m*) in this Action, had no effect upon them: Their Breasts admitted of no thought but that of *Revenge*. It was not long before the *French* felt the Bloody effects of this cruel Passion; for 1200 Men of the *Five Nations* invaded the island of *Montreal* when the *French* had no suspicion of any such Attempt, while Mr. *De Nonville* and his Lady were in that Town. They Landed on the south side of the Island at *La Chine*, on the 26th of *July*, 1688. where they burnt and sacked all the Plantations, and made a terrible Massacre of Men, Women and Children. The *French* were under apprehension of the Town's being attacked, for which reason they durst not send out any considerable Party to the Relief of the Country, till the *Indians* had blocked up two Forts, when Mr. *De Nonville* sent out a hundred Soldiers and fifty *Indians* to try to bring off the men, The *French* of this Party were all either taken or cut to pieces, except one Soldier and the Commanding Officer, who was carried off by twelve *Indians* that made their escape, after he had his Thigh broke. There was above a Thou-

land of the *French* kill'd at this time, and Twenty six were carried away Prisoners, the greatest part of which were burnt alive. The *Five Nations* only lost three Men in this Expedition, that got Drunk, and were left behind. This, however, did not satiate their Thirst after Blood; for in *October* following they destroy'd likewise all the lower part of the Island, and carried away many Prisoners.⁸⁶

The Consequences of these Expeditions were very dismal to the *French*, for they were forced to burn their two Barks which they had on *Cadarackui Lake*, and to abandon their Fort there. They design'd to have blown up their Works when they left that place, and for that end left a lighted Match where the Powder lay, but were in such a Fright, that they durst not stay to see what effect it had. They went down *Cadarackui River*, in seven Birch Canoes, and for greater Security travel'd in the Night. One of the Canoes with all the men in it was lost by their Precipitation, as they passed one of the Falls of that River. The *Five Nations* hearing that the *French* had deserted *Cadarackui Fort*, 50 *Indians* went and took Possession of it, who found the Match the *French* had left, which had gone out, and 28 Barrils of Powder in the same place, together with several other Stores.⁸⁷

The News of the Success the *Five Nations* had

had over the *French*, soon spread itself among all the *Indians*, and put the *French* Affairs every where into terrible Disorder.

The *Utawawas* had always shown an Inclination to the *English*, and they therefore immediately sent openly four Sachems with three Prisoners of the *Sennekas* that they had, to assure them, That they would forever Renounce all Friendship with the *French*, and promised to Restore the rest of the Prisoners. They also included seven Nations that liv'd near *Missilimakinak*, in this Peace.

This put the *French* commandant there under the greatest Difficulty to maintain his Post; but there was no Choice, he must stand his Ground; for the *Five Nations* had cut off all hopes of Retiring.

The *Nepeciriniens* and *Kikabous*, of all their Numerous Allies, only remain'd firm to the *French*, every one of the others endeavour'd to gain the Friendship of the *5 Nations*, and would certainly have done it, by Massacreing all the *French* among them, if the *Sieur Perot* had not with wonderful Sagacity and imminent Hazard to his own Person diverted them, for which *Canada* cannot do too much Honour to that Gentlemans Memory.⁸⁹

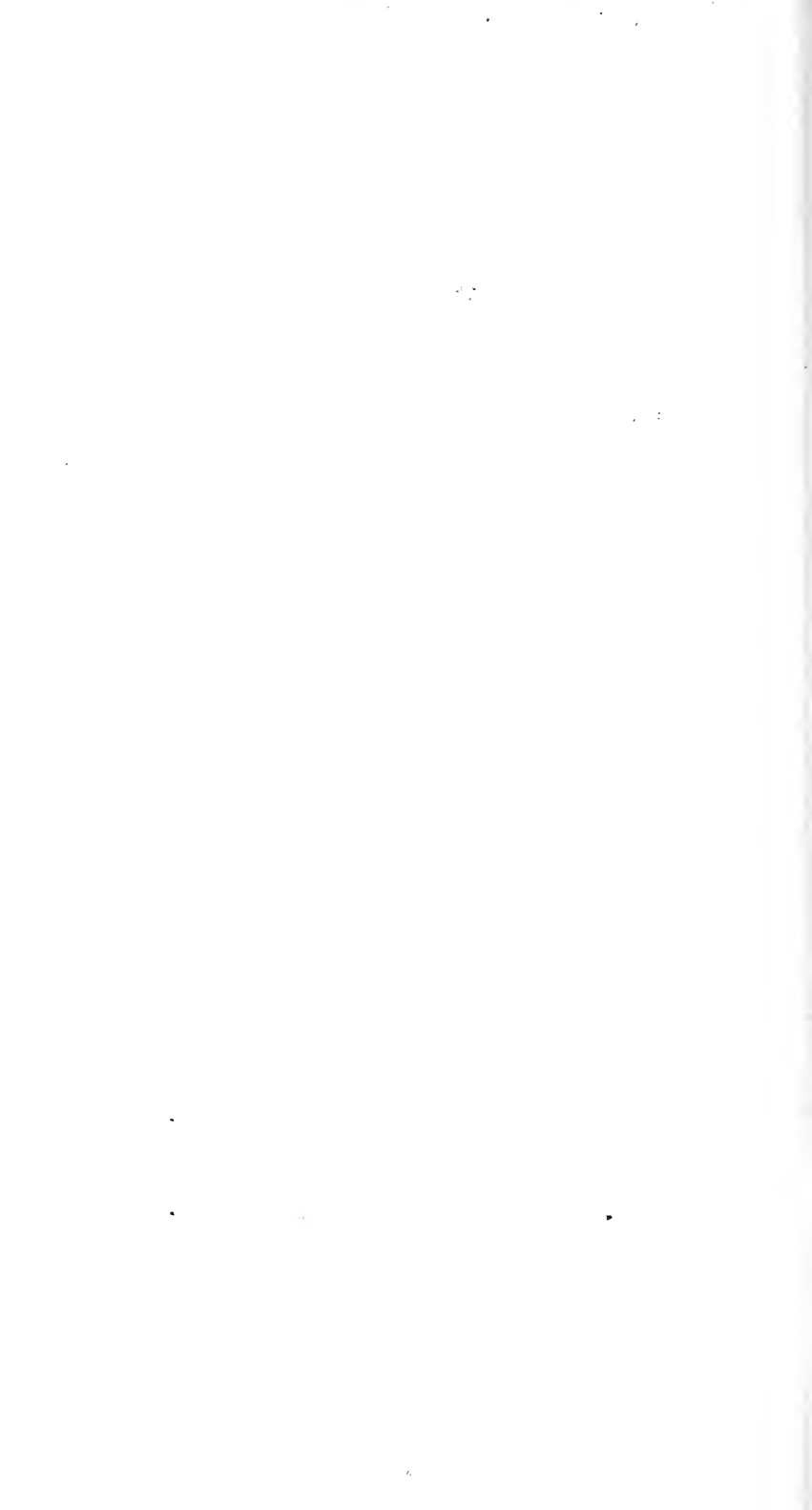
Canada was now in a most Miserable Condition; for while the greatest Number of their Men had been employ'd in the Expeditions
against

against the *Five Nations*, and in Trading among the *far Nations*, and making New Discoveries and Settlements, Tillage and Husbandry had been neglected; now they lost several Thousands of their Inhabitants by the continual Incurfions of small Parties, so that none durst hazard themselves out of the Fortified Places. Indeed, it is not easie to conceive what Distress the *French* were then under; for tho' they were almost every where starving, they could not Plant nor Sow, or go from one Village to another for Relief, but with imminent Danger of having their Scalps carried away by the Sculking *Indians*. At last the whole Country being laid Waste, Famine began to rage, and was like to have put a Miserable End to that Colony.

If the *Indians* had understood the method of attacking Forts, nothing could have preserved the *French* from an entire Destruction at this time. For whoever considers the state of the *Indian Affairs* during this Period, How the *Five Nations* were divided in their Sentiments and Measures; The *Onnondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Oneydoes*, under the Influence of the *French* Jesuits, were diverted from prosecuting the War with *Canada*, by the Jesuits cunningly spiriting up those three Nations against the *Virginia Indians*, and persuading them to send out their Parties that way

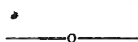
way : The *Sennekas* had a War at the same time upon their hands with three numerous *Indian Nations*, the *Utawawas*, *Chicktagbicks* and *Twihwtwies*^v: And the Measures the *English* observed with the *French* all King *James's* Reign, gave the *Indians* rather grounds of Jealousy than Assistance. I say, whoever considers all these things, and what the *Five Nations* did actually perform under all these Disadvantages against the *French*, will hardly doubt that the *Five Nations* by themselves were at that time an over Match for the *French* of *CANADA*.

The End of the First Part.





NOTES.



(1) WILLIAM BURNET, the Governor to whom Dr. Colden dedicates his history, and within whose province it was written and published, was a son of the famous Bishop of Salisbury.

He had been Comptroller of the Customs in London, a post worth £1,200 per annum, but losing heavily in South Sea speculations, effected a sort of exchange with Governor Hunter, hoping to retrieve his fortunes in America.

He was appointed Governor of New York and New Jersey in April, 1720 (N. Y. Col. Doc. v. 586), and published his Commission in New York September 17, and at North Amboy, N. J., September 22.

He at once became popular by his manners. "A man of sense and polite breeding," says Smith, "a well-read scholar, sprightly and of a social disposition. Being devoted to his books he abstained from all those excesses into which his pleasurable relish would otherwise have plunged him. He studied the arts of recommending himself to the people, had nothing of the moroseness of a scholar, was gay and condescending, affected no pomp, but visited every family of reputation, and often diverted himself in free converse with the ladies."

He seems, indeed, to have found New York society and ladies so pleasing that before he had been a year
I installed

installed he married Anna Maria, daughter of Abraham Van Horn, an eminent merchant and subsequently member of the Colonial Council.

As a Governor he was one of the best that ever visited New York in colonial times. To limit the power of the French on the North and West he saw to be essential to the wealth and progress of New York. The French in Canada possessed great influence at the West through their extensive trade, the goods being, however, frequently English fabrics furnished from the colony of New York. Burnet sought to break up this trade, and direct the energies of New York to the opening of direct channels of commerce with the Western Indians. With this view he erected a trading post at Oswego in 1722, attracted the Western tribes to join the Five Nations, exerted himself to defeat the French in their project of a fort at Niagara, and finally, in 1727, replaced his trading house at Oswego by a fort.

"The excessive love of money, a disease common to all his Predecessors, and to some who succeeded him," says Smith, "was a vice from which he was entirely free. He sold no offices, nor attempted to raise a fortune by indirect means; for he lived generously, and carried scarce anything away with him but his books. These were to him inexhaustible sources of delight. His astronomical observations have been useful; but by his Comment on the *Apocalypse* he exposed himself, as other learned men have before him, to the criticisms of those who have not ability to write half so well."—(Hist. Province of New York. London, 1757, pp. 172-3.)

He was superseded by the appointment of John Montgomery, Esq., Governor of New York, August

12, 1727 (N. Y. Col. Doc. v. 823), and delivered the great seals to that gentleman April 15, 1728.

His removal from this congenial position was not his only affliction: about the same time he lost his wife, and, thus bereaved and disappointed, proceeded to Boston to assume the difficult post of Governor of Massachusetts. "His superior talents and free and easy manner of communicating his sentiments made him the delight of men of sense and learning," says Mr. Hutchinson (*Hist. of Massachusetts*, vol. ii. ch. 3); but this was not enough. His short career in Massachusetts was as unpleasant as that in New York had been agreeable. A long struggle with the General Court embittered his days, and the excitement produced upon him seems to have undermined his health. After adjourning the Court to meet in Cambridge in August, 1729, he fell sick at Boston, and died September 7, 1729. The Court which refused him a salary gave him a pompous funeral.

His issue by his first wife seems to have been one son, Gilbert; by Miss Van Horn he had William and Thomas, a daughter, Mary, who married Hon. William Brown, of Beverley, Mass., and a child who died young.

His will, dated New York, September 6, 1727, alludes to his wife as dead; it was proved at Boston, September 25, 1729, his property amounting only to £4,540 4s. 3½d.

A correspondent of the *Historical Magazine* (vol. viii, p. 398) states that he has two manuscript sermons—that preached in the chapel of the fort of New York on the interment of Mrs. Burnet, by Rev. Mr. Orum, unfortunately not dated, and that preached at the Governor's funeral in "the King's Chapple

Chapple, in Boston, in New England, the 12th day of September, in the year 1729, by the Rev. Mr. Price."

(2) Canada.

(3) See Edition of 1747 (8vo, London), pp. 136, 186, 191, &c.

(4) It is not easy to say what French works are here alluded to, probably Hennepin and La Hontan. Of other French works bearing on Iroquois history, Colden appears to have seen only de la Potherie. Champlain, the Jesuit Relations, Lafitau, and the Lettres Edifiantes were probably inaccessible at the time to one writing, as he did, at New York. But it is strange to see how completely, sixty years after the English occupancy, the sixty years of Dutch rule, with all the writings of that period, were despised and ignored. The tract of Megapolensis on the Indians, the works of Van Der Donck and De Vries, which would have given him much, are all overlooked. The only special English works on New York published prior to Colden's work, Denton, Woolley, Miller, give little direct information as to the Five Nations, and we can scarcely wonder at all absence of allusion to them.

(5) Dr. Colden should have taken better care of these "Minutes of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs." He appreciated their value, but finding them in a wretched condition, left them so, subject to utter loss. Fortunately, in 1751, Mr. Alexander (thank him, all ye antiquaries of New York) "borrowing them for his perusal, had them bound up in
four

four large volumes in folio.”—(Smith’s History of New York, p. 154, note.)

(6) European nations, as relics identical with those of America show, had their stone and their copper age before reaching that when iron made progress rapid. Our Northern Indians were still in the stone age, Mexico and Peru had reached that of copper.

(7) Hence a report of a speech of an educated French interpreter, fully conversant with the language, as missionary or agent, would seem to be more trustworthy.

(8) The names of tribes and places here given suggest some curious reflections. Neither English nor French names have prevailed exclusively. We have adopted the French terms Abenaki, Algonquin, Chicago, Detroit, Huron, Illinois, Iroquois, Lake Huron, Miami, Michilimackinac, Lake Ontario, Shawnee, here treated as words so foreign to our fathers as to need explanation. One name, Illinois, was as new to Washington when he wrote his first diary, for, not catching it clearly, he made it out *Isles Noires*, and translates it *Black Islands*—little foreseeing his own future or his country’s; little dreaming that he was to be the first President of a great Republic, and that that Illinois would one day send, as his successor in the city of his name, in his hold on the affections of the people, a grandson of one of the backwoodsmen of his own Virginia. A few remarks will here be made on these names.

ADIRONDACKS means tree-eaters.—(See Historical Magazine, vol. iv. p. 185.)

AMIHOUIS

AMIHOUIS is probably meant for *Amikoues*, the Beaver Indians; but it is an error to make the French call the Tionontates by the name. They called them at first Petun or Tobacco Indians, and after their great defeat and flight Hurons. They now go by the name of Wyandots, although they are a distinct tribe from them.—(See Historical Magazine, vol. v. p. 262.)

ANIEZ Colden here makes a kind of bull. The word Aniez, though given as the name which the Five Nations did *not* give the Mohawks, is really the name they did give—*Gagniegebaga* or *Gagniegueron*, the termination meaning people. Mohawk is from Maqua, the Mohegan name for bear, the name of the tribe as a body.

HURONS. The name Quatoghie occurs very rarely except in Colden. In the whole course of the Colonial Documents Dr. O'Callaghan gives but two references to this name in his index. The tribe called themselves Wendat (*Relation de la Nouv. France*, 1639, p. 50; 1640, p. 35), whence the more common English name Wyandot was formed. Huron was merely a French nickname.

LOUPS is a French translation of the Algonic word Maikan or Mohegan, a wolf. The Mohawks called them, and still call the Stockbridge Indians, Agotsfagenens.

MASCOUTENS, Odistagheks. The Hurons called them Assistague or Fire Indians.

ONNONTIO, YONNONDIO, means Great Mountain, and is simply an Indian translation of the name of Montmagny (*Mons Magnus*),

Magnus), the second Governor of Canada, retained as a title, just as Arendt Van Curler's name, reduced to Corlar, was used by the Iroquois to mean the Governor of the Dutch or English at New York.

OUTAGAMI is the proper name of the Foxes, whom Colden makes to be the Quakies of the Iroquois; the Scunkfiks being apparently the Sacs.

OTTAWAS. The French give Ontwagannha and Twakanna as the Iroquois name of this tribe.

TATERAS, TODERIKS, are the Catawbas.

TONGORIAS appears on one of De Lisle's maps as the name of a tribe on the Tennessee; I find no other French allusion to the name. The Toteros, who have given the name of Totteroy to Great Sandy Creek, may be the same. (N. Y. Col. Doc. 111, 194, n.) Colden's English seems to make them the Erié, e of the Hurons, the Eriégue, Erique of the Iroquois.

(9) This statement, supported by later authorities, is omitted in the English edition.—(See Morgan's *League of the Iroquois*, p. 96.)

(10) The whole question of the families or tribes is discussed in Morgan's *League of the Iroquois* (Rochester, 1851, 8vo), chapter iv. The Mohawks and Oneidas had but these three tribes, as all writers, French and English, declare, but the other nations, according to Morgan, had generally eight.

(11) The Sachems, fifty in all, were the heads of the families, and used the mark of the animal whose name they bore in signing treaties. The rank was not hereditary from father to son—indeed, a Sachem's son could scarcely be a Sachem. A man could not marry in his own family, and the children belonged to the mother's, not to the father's, family. When a Sachem died, the family chose as his successor, or tacitly admitted, the succession of a uterine brother, or a sister's son, or some more distant relative of the same family, and consequently related only in the female line to the deceased. This explains how some have asserted it to be hereditary, while others denied it. Colden, in supposing the rank merely a tribute to worth, was in error.

(12) The war chiefs had no rank but what prestige of their own courage and ability gave them.

(13) English and French alike failed in endeavoring to induce them to remove the place of the great council fire.

(14) The Tuscaroras having risen on the people of Carolina in 1710, were finally defeated and retreated north. Lawson, killed in the war, had preserved in his Carolina a vocabulary of the tribe. They settled in New York from 1712 to 1717.

(15) The opening sentence here giving the Iroquois for the name of the league is replaced in the London edition by another falsely charging the Dutch with having preserved nothing relating to the Indians. The name Rodinunchionni is given as
Hotinnonchiendi

Hotinnonchiendi in the Rel. de la N. F., 1654 (Queb. ed.), p. 11, and there said to mean a complete cabin. This is, doubtless, a Huron form. Bruyas, in his *Racines Agnières*, gives the name in Mohawk Hotinnonfionni, and it is apparently the third person plural of Gennonsonnisk, "I make a cabin," composed of ganonsa, cabin, and konnis, I make. The modern Mohawk form is Rotinnonfionni. Morgan gives the Seneca name as Hodenosaunee, "the people of the long cabin," but this is apparently somewhat free, the term "people" not being in the word. The form Aquanushioni is only a corruption, and the translation "cabin builders" an error arising from ignorance of the Indian thought.

(16) De la Potherie (i. p. 288) took this account, as he did much more of his book, from the manuscript *Mœurs, Coutumes et Religion des Sauvages* of Nicholas Perrot, just published in Paris. (See p. 9 of Tailhan's edition.) Perrot is more explicit than his copiers, and more correct. "The country of the Iroquois was formerly Montreal and Three Rivers. They had as neighbors the Algonquins dwelling along the Ottawa, at Nipissing, French River, and between it and Toronto." Cartier certainly found an Iroquois tribe at Montreal, or Hochelaga. (Hist. Mag. ix. 144; Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie Française* i. p. 524.)

(17) The French settled at Three Rivers within the remains of a palisaded (and therefore Huron or Iroquois) town, the charred ends still remaining in the ground, and the cleared fields of the occupants discernible. (Rel. 1635, p. 15.)

(18) Perrot does not name Montreal.

(19) Lake Ontario. The French for a time called it Lake Frontenac. Ontara means lake, Ontario, beautiful lake. Cadarackui, the name here given by Colden to Lake Ontario, was applied by the French to a fort where Kingston now is, and called also Fort Frontenac. Cataraqui is said to mean potter's clay in water.

(20) Corlar's Lake was the old New York name for Lake Champlain, and came from Arendt Van Curler, a Dutch agent high in repute with the Mohawks, who was lost here, while on his way to Canada on the invitation of the French Governor. The Indians gave his name not only to this Lake but to all Governors at New York.

(21) Champlain's battle with the Mohawks on Lake Champlain was fought in the summer of 1609. (See Champlain's account in N. Y. Documentary History, iii. 9.)

(22) Colden here omits all account of the war with the Hurons, a more powerful nation than the Adirondacks, and of the same race as the Five Nations. They resided in Upper Canada, near Lake Huron. Joining the Adirondacks, or Algonquins, against the Iroquois, they induced Champlain, in 1615, to accompany them on an expedition into Western New York against a canton called Entwohonoron, perhaps the Wenro, on whom the Senecas afterwards turned.

(23) Simon Piescaret was chief of the "Algonquins"

quins of the Island," a small tribe on the Ottawa, not a general sachem of all the tribes. His course might easily be followed through the French accounts.

(24) This is a very inaccurate summary; the Iroquois attacked and carried one after another the towns of the Wyandots and Tionontates (Hurons and Petuns) in Upper Canada: and a petty remnant of the former fled to Quebec, and of the latter to Wisconsin. A surprise of a party of the Wyandot refugees on Isle Orleans in 1657 is the incident referred to by Colden, who overlooks entirely the war in Upper Canada, which swept away the Wyandot, Tionontate, Attiwandaronk, Wenro and other minor tribes from their ancient seats.

(25) De la Potherie.

(26) De la Potherie, i. 152. The Nepiciriniens, or Nipissings, never removed to any great distance. A remnant of the tribe still exists at the Lake of the Two Mountains, and their language for a time prevailed at that mission.

(27) The Dinondadies fled first to islands in Lake Huron, then to the southern shore of Lake Superior, next inland to Black River. Returning then to Mackinaw, they proceeded to Detroit, when a post was established there, and finally crossed to Sandusky, which they named Outlandouke, meaning "There is pure water there." Here they became known to us as Wyandots--the Hurons of Lorette being, however, the original Wyandots. The island of the Ottawas is Manitouline, but the name is older than Colden supposes.

(28)

(28) De la Potherie, i. 303. Pieskaret's death occurred in 1647. (*Relation de la Nouvelle France*, 1647, p. 47.)

(29) There was but one Algonquin village near Quebec, that of Sillery, which eventually filled up with Abnakis, and was removed to St. Francis.

(30) This is the assertion of de la Potherie (ii. 296), but is devoid of all probability or authority.

(31) De la Potherie, ii. 54.

(32) Colden's ignorance as to Arendt Van Curler is strange enough. As to him see O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*.

(33) De la Potherie, ii. 85. Agariata boasted of having murdered M. de Chazy, the nephew of the Marquis de Tracy. The French Governor was de Courcelle.

(34) The Dutch had one breach with the Mohawks in 1625, when Van Krieckebeck, the Commandant at Albany, joined the Mohegans against them and was killed.

(35) De la Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique* Sept. ii, 87-111. Nicholas Perrot, *Mœurs, Coustumes, &c.*

(36) 1679.

(37) Lake Erie.

(38) This account of the loss of the Griffin is from De la Potherie ii. 35-40.

(39)

(39) They had been supplied with them nearly fifty years before. *Rel. N. F.* 1643, p. 62.

(40) See New York Colonial Documents III. p. 256, ix. 227.

(41) They were Piscataways, the Susquehannas had just been conquered by the Iroquois. (See N. Y. Col. Doc. iii. 323, Historical Magazine II. 294.)

(42) New York Colonial Doc. iii. 277. Campbell's Virginia.

(43) These are the Canageffe of p. 31, and the name is preserved under the form of Kanhawa.

(44) Dongan brought out English Jesuits to replace the French, in order to bind the Five Nations to the English interest. (N. Y. Col. Doc. Hist. iii.) The French naturally endeavored to turn the war parties away from themselves.

(45) A treaty between the Five Nations and Maryland in August, 1682, will be found in N. Y. Col. Doc. iii. 321-328.

(46) Affarigoa means Cutlafs or Big Knife, and the Dutch word Hower having this signification, the Dutch interpreter gave it as the meaning of Howard! (N. Y. Col. Doc. v. 670.)

(47) An account of the origin of the Laprarie and Caughnawaga missions will be found in a History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States, New York, 1855, p. 296.

(48)

(48) Father Lamberville was the only French missionary at the time in New York, and that he was able to influence the five different tribes in opposition to all the efforts of the authority of New York is not very probable.

(49) Milet was taken prisoner by the Oneidas at Fort Frontenac in 1690, after Denonville entrapped the Iroquois Sachems, and was long in great danger; but his knowledge of the language and long acquaintance with the tribe saved him. After he was adopted and regarded as a Sachem, his influence was much dreaded by the English, and a long correspondence ensued, his friends seeking to prolong his captivity and his enemies to release him. An account of his captivity is printed in the Cramoisy series. He there says that he was adopted as "Otaffeté, which is the ancient name of one of the first founders of the Iroquois Republic," p. 38. Morgan, p. 64, gives as the first Oneida Sachem, Hodashteh, "a man bearing a burden."

(50) Colden is here in error. A Huron tribe of the town of Scanonaenrat, or St. Michael's, containing many Christians, joined the Senecas, and several missionaries, Garnier, Fremin, Rafeix, Pieron, labored in the Seneca country.

(51) The Sieur de Salvaye. See his Instructions in N. Y. Documentary History, i. 70.

(52) Charlevoix, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, i. 490, says 700 militia, 130 regulars, 200 Indians, chiefly Iroquois of Sault St. Louis, and Hurons or Lorette. The official return of the troops taken at
Fort

Fort Frontenac, August 14, 1684, including regulars; militia and Indians, was 34 officers, 782 men. De Meules, the Intendant, says 900 men and 300 Indians.

(53) Supposed to be Salmon river, Oswego county, N. Y. It is said, on p. 79, to be "thirty miles from Onondaga." De la Barre, however, says "four leagues," Charlevoix "four or five leagues from the mouth of their river." i. 493.

(54) Arnold Cornelison Viele was a citizen of Albany and a well known Indian interpreter. For his services in the latter capacity he obtained a grant of land from the Mohawks, September, 1683, a little above Schenectady. The tract was called Wachkeerhoha. (*O'Callaghan.*)

(55) Charles Le Moyne, the founder of one of the illustrious houses of Canada, to which Iberville, Bienville and the Barons Longueuil belonged.

(56) Father John de Lamberville. His Iroquois name of Taorhensere, incorrectly given Twirhaersira on p. 80, means "the man that looks up at the sky." The names given to Missionaries were retained for successors, and the late Mr. Marcoux, missionary at Sault St. Louis, Canada, bore this same name.

(57) Father James de Lamberville.

(58) Called Tegannehout by the French. He was a Seneca ambassador arrested at Quebec by De la Barre. (N. Y. Col. Doc. ix. 239.) He was at the conference at La Famine, or Hungry Bay.

(59)

(59) This Indian was not a Sachem. He was merely an orator, and actually in the pay of the French, who called him Grande Gueule. De Meule (Col. Doc. ix. 247) calls him a "fycophant who seeks merely a good dinner and a real buffoon." His real Indian name, as given by the French, was Hotreouati, Hateouati, or Oureouati. La Hontan, or his editor, ignorant of this, and wishing to give his name an Indian turn, transformed Grande Gueule into Grangula, or, as he afterwards wrote it, Garan-gula. No such Indian name occurs. Morgan, in his list of Onondaga sachem names, gives Hosahaho, Large Mouth, but this differs too much from Hotreuwati for us to suppose them identical. Charlevoix, i. 527, strangely confounds him with Tegan-nehout, the Seneca. De la Barre says that fifteen deputies met him.

(60) La Hontan, i. 48. De la Barre's speech, as originally reported, is in the Documentary History.

(61) This well-known speech, as given here, is taken from La Hontan, *Nouveaux Voyages*, I. 51-55. The speech of Hotreouati, with the replies of Father Bruyas on behalf of De la Barre, will be found as given by the latter in O'Callaghan's *Documentary History*, i. 77. La Hontan's is evidently dressed up for his own purposes.

(62) Carachkondie is the Garakontie of the French. The one here alluded to, though confounded by Charlevoix with the great Daniel Garakontie, the far-seeing and enlightened chief of Onondaga, was his brother and successor, and in every way an inferior man. Daniel Garakontie died in 1677. (*Relation*

tion de la Nouvelle France, 1673-9, Mission du Canada, ii. 202.

(62 *bis*, p. 92) This direct aid to the Iroquois in their attacks on the French posts, with that afforded them in the massacre of the French at Lachine, opened the terrible border wars which form such a bloody page in our Colonial history. The French, accepting the alternative, welcomed the remnants of the New England Indians, burning with all the sense of wrongs endured, and used them so effectually that we may well doubt the wisdom of what Colden here applauds.

(63) The Outagamies are the Foxes, the Kickapous, the Kickapoos: the Maskoutuh or Maskutick—properly Maskoutench, have now disappeared as a tribe, but were evidently part of or closely allied to the Kickapoo nation, into which they seem to have been absorbed. They were all Algonquin tribes, as were the Malhominies and Putewatemies mentioned subsequently. The Puans, so called from their having come from the sea, or Fetid Water, are the Winnebagoes, a Dacotah tribe, who style themselves Otchagra.

(64) As to the bad faith of the Ottawas on this occasion, see Charlevoix, i. 513.

(65) McGregor's expedition was, under the circumstances, bold enough, and was based on a strange notion of French forbearance. The French officer sent to arrest him was Mr. de la Durantaye (Charlevoix, i. 515). For a sketch of McGregor, who was killed by Leisler, see Col. Doc. iii. 395 n.

(66) The Chief in French interest was Nansouakouet. (De la Potherie, ii. 201.)

(67) This account is from De la Potherie, ii. 203.

(68) De la Potherie, ii. 205. La Hontan, i. 96, ascribes this capture to de Luth.

(69) Charlevoix (vol. i. p. 516) attributes the final action of the Ottawas and Hurons to the influence of Father Anjelran, and says that but for him Michilimackinac would have been in the hands of the English and Iroquois.

(70) Rev. John de Lamberville, S. J. It is extraordinary that Colden omits all mention of the seizure of the chiefs at Fort Frontenac, and of the noble conduct of Garacontie in obtaining for the missionary leave to depart. Charlevoix, i. 504, 510.

(71) By his confession, the English now furnished the Iroquois, their subjects, with material of war to attack the French colonies in the West, after making the furnishing of ammunition to their Indians, by the French, an illegal act. Dongan in fact began war with France.

(72) Colden does not inform us when the English authorities, or the officers sent with the Indian parties, prevented similar acts.

(73) Misprinted Trondequat in the English editions.

(74) For Denonville's expedition see Charlevoix, i. 516; De la Potherie, ii. 207; La Hontan, i. 78;
Col.

Col. Doc., ix. 358-369. The Indian reports to the authorities at Albany are in O'Callaghan's Documentary History, i. 151-4. According to O. H. Marshall, Esq., whose investigation of this action is given in the Proceedings of the N. Y. Historical Society, the battle was fought at Boughton Hill, in the town of Victor, Ontario county, where the railroad crosses the road. The subsequent proceedings of the Onondagas, Cayugas and Oneidas are given in the Col. Doc. ix. 384.

(75) Ohswego lake is Erie, and Cadarackui Ontario.

(76) The seizure of Iroquois chiefs, lured to Fort Frontenac, is one of the most striking events of Canadian history.

(77) The assumption of sovereignty is a step due to Dongan, and the further assumption that all territory between the Mohawk and the most remote part of an Iroquois raid a conquest for England, delightfully absurd.

(78) The first act of hostility was the plundering of Frenchmen going to Illinois, a French colony, by men whom Dongan recognized as English subjects.

(79) Lispenard, whose name is still preserved in one of the streets of New York city, made a report, which is in N. Y. Doc. History, i. 155.

(80) The English occupation of New York being so recent, and so unjust, it is not easy to see how
the

the English claims could become such a gaudy hawk-moth out of the modest Dutch caterpillar.

(81) It is not easy to explain who these terrible North Indians and Mohegans were, but apparently some band of Mohegans driven out by the Iroquois and become in French hands a scourge of the English.

(82) The proposal of Dongan to plant these Indians at Saratoga was doubtless sincere, though he did not pretend that he would protect them against their pagan countrymen, whose violence had driven them into exile. He certainly sent to England for Jesuits to direct them, and we know that Father Charles Gage, Father Thomas Harvey and Father Henry Harrison actually came to New York for the purpose. (N. Y. Col. Doc. iii. 73.)

(83) Misprinted Tames in English editions.

(84) De Nonville does not lose by comparison here.

(85) For this account of Adario or Kondiaronk's treachery, see La Hontan, i. 192. Charlevoix, i. 535, adopts it as true.

(86) La Hontan, i. 193. Charlevoix gives loss of French at 200. (See De la Potherie, ii. 229.)

(87) For this abandonment of Fort Frontenac see La Hontan, i. 195, Charlevoix, i. 550. Smith, in his History of New York, makes it a territorial conquest of the Mohawks, and consequently of Great Britain!

(88)

(88) For Perrot's account of his proceedings, see *Moeurs, Coustumes et Relligion des Sauvages*, Leipzig and Paris, 1864.





